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NOTES ON TEGNÉR'S POSTHUMOUS POEMS

Not all of Tegnér's posthumous poems have received adequate treatment. To be sure, some of the longer and better known productions, such as *Religionen* (1801), *Elegi vid en brors död* (1802), *Kulturen* (1805), *Ynglingens sotsäng eller lifvet och döden* (1805) and *Fördragsamheten* (1806-08) have been analyzed in detail by Frederik Böök in his monumental work¹ on Tegnér, but the importance of certain shorter and less familiar poems has evidently escaped Böök's attention.

I shall, therefore, in the following article attempt to analyze certain minor posthumous poems of Tegnér with a view towards tracing in these poems that thought and feeling which was characteristic of Tegnér's genius, as expressed in his well-known works. The poems under discussion are *Bön*, *Erotisk fantasi*, and *Hittebarnet*.

I

Bön

One of the most important of Tegnér's posthumous poems in their bearing upon his poetic ideals is *Bön* ("The Prayer"). This poem is so characteristic of Tegnér's religious thought (cf. especially his trust in the benign nature of the Deity) that I here quote² it in full.

Om i lifvets bägar galla droppas,
låt mig tänka: läkdom göms deri;
när jag njuter, låt mig tacksam bli,
när jag lider, låt mig hoppas.

¹ *Esaias Tegnér*. I, Stockholm, 1917, *Ungdomsdiktningen*, pp. 1-36, *Det romantiske genombrottet*, pp. 37-74.

² My text is taken from *Esaias Tegnér's Efterlemnade Skrifter*, Ny Samling, Vol. III, Stockholm, 1874, pp. 31-32.

In the latest edition of Tegnér's *Samlade Skrifter*, Ny Kritisk Upplaga Kronologiskt Ordad, utg. af E. Wrangel och Fr. Böök, Stockholm, 1918, pp. 90-91, the poem is entitled "Om i lifvets bägar" and besides a slightly variant wording differs from the above text by the addition of the following stanza (4):

I som förr min svaghet tryggad gjorden
Må jag ge igen Er vård åt Er
Liksom skyn i vårregn återger
Dunsterna hon drog från jorden.

Ljusets seger, fridens, mensklighetens
låt mig söka, och med sårad hand
skrifva hämndens fordringar i sand
och i marmor tacksamhetens.

Låt mig ge till bröders väl, men dölja
hvarje öfrig skärf, mig lyckan gaf,
liksom ådran, gömd i mullens graf,
skatter tyst till källans bölja.

Må jag få en maka och en hydda
och en graf i egna bygders famn,
och ge en gång en son mitt namn,
icke åt en stod att skydda.—

Och om stormen rycker från mig stafven,
tålmodets staf, om hoppets frö
tvinas uppå lifvets strand och dö,
låt mig så dem uti grafven.

Först derborta på den andra stranden
bryts det bref, som jag försegladt bär,
och jag vet att min bestämning der
skrefs utaf den gode anden.

The benign spirit of cheerfulness and of reconciliation with God in his "Prayer" is in keeping with the spirit of Tegnér's religious thought as expressed especially in his *Fördragsamheten* (earlier version of *Fridsröster*). In fact, the very first lines of the poem:

Om i lifvets bägar galla droppas,
låt mig tänka: läkdom göms deri;

remind one very strongly of the following verses in *Fördragsamheten*:

Om du lider, om du faller,
trampad af din fiende,
genom lifvets fängselgaller
in i fria himlen se.

Beyond the ken of this world lies the realm of the spirit, the controlling force of the universe, in which we should place our trust, even as Tegnér himself does in *Mjeltsjukan*. Most significant in this respect, are the last two stanzas of the poem. Even if misfortune has bereft him of the last hope in this life, the poet still rests assured that beyond the grave he shall

realize (as in *Mjeltsjukan*), that happiness which he was destined to forfeit in this life.

It is rather striking that in the last stanza:

Först derborta på den andra stranden
bryts det bref, som jag försegladt bär,
och jag vet att min bestämning der
skrefs utaf den gode anden,

Tegnér uses the metaphor of a *sealed letter* to express the mystery of life. Only at death is this letter opened, and then the poet shall read his destiny written by *the good spirit*.

I am very much inclined to believe that this whole final stanza was suggested to Tegnér by Schiller's *Resignation* (1800). In *Resignation* the poet receives his authoritative letter of happiness just as he is about to pass over into eternity; the letter is sealed, for he returns it unopened to the Creator—he knows nothing of happiness.

Da steh' ich schon auf deiner finstern Brücke,
Furchtbare Ewigkeit,
Empfange meinen Vollmachtbrief zum Glückel
Ich bring' ihn unerbrochen dir zurücke,
Ich weiss nichts von Glückseligkeit.

Corresponding to the first line in Schiller's poem,

Da steh' ich schon auf deiner finstern Brücke,

we have in Tegnér's *Bön*,

Först derborta på den andra stranden,

and corresponding to Schiller's

Empfange meinen Vollmachtbrief zum Glückel

we have in Tegnér's *Bön*,

bryts det bref, som jag försegladt bär.

That in Schiller's poem the letter is sealed (cf. Tegnér's *försegladt*), is shown by the fact that the poet returns it *unerbrochen*. But here the difference in the philosophical thought of the two poets begins: Tegnér has faith in the divine goodness (*min bestämning der skrefs utaf den gode anden*), while Schiller rejects

happiness as not ordained for humanity—"ich weiss nichts von Glückseligkeit." Tegnér is optimistic, Schiller pessimistic.

This same difference is evident also between Tegnér's *Resignationen* (1808) and Schiller's *Resignation*, even though Tegnér's poem was largely a remoulding of the thought in Schiller's poem. As in *Bön*, so in *Resignationen* the poet is in tune with the Infinite and in harmony with the purpose of creation:

Hör mig, du jordens far, du himlarnas, förränta
min sällhets-fordran hur du vill,
jag skall ej kräiva den, men tala blott och vänta
och prisa dig, att jag är till.

And when death comes, the poet is in *Resignationen*, just as in *Bön*, ready to meet the great change, comforted and assured:

o, då må någon dygd, må någon ädel handling
stå upp och hviska tröst uti mitt öra än,
och jag gå fram till min förvandling
som mot en länge bådad vän!

This is the same spirit as that expressed in *Bön* when the poet says:

och jag vet att min bestämning der
skrefs utaf den gode anden.

Böök has in his monograph on Tegnér (pp. 390 ff.) analyzed the relation between Schiller's *Resignation* and Tegnér's poem of the same name. As a *Nachklang* of Schiller's

*Da steh' ich schon auf deiner finstern Brücke,
Furchtbare Ewigkeit,*

he mentions Tegnér's

*Och när jag lutande, vid dagarnas fullbordan,
på evighetens tröskel står.*

But in *Bön* we have, it seems to me, a reminiscence not only of these two lines of Schiller's poem, but also of the whole stanza in question (as shown above). Yet Böök makes no mention of the poem *Bön* in this connection; which fact indicates at least that the poem *Bön* has not received proper

attention—presumably because, being among Tegnér's posthumous works, the poem has not been widely read nor discussed.

As to the date of the poem *Bön*, it could hardly have been written after the time of *Resignationen* (1808), in which Schiller's theme is fully treated. Granting the influence of Schiller's *Resignation* (1800), as suggested above, we may place the date³ of the composition of *Bön* between the years 1800 and 1808.

II

Erotisk fantasi

This poem was written after 1812; to judge from Tegnér's handwriting it belongs to his later productions,⁴ but just how late it is difficult to determine. I am inclined to believe from the internal evidence of the poem that it was written not long after the poet's break with Martina von Schwerin (1824) or at least not long after the completion of the *Frithiofssaga* (1825).

Erotisk fantasi is a love song, in which the poet first sings the praises of his beloved and then makes an impassioned appeal for a requital of his love. This appeal leaves the impression that the poet has been repulsed, that his words fall upon an indifferent heart. Such an impression naturally leads one to connect the poem with Martina von Schwerin, to whom Tegnér

³ E. Wrangel (*Tegnérska Släktminnen och Ungdomsbilder*, 1913, p. 281), puts the date of *Bön* at about 1804, which agrees entirely with the internal evidence, as shown above. He says: "Det finnes bland de Tegnérska handskrifterna en liten dikt, som är ungefär samtidig med *Till min hembygd*." By "en liten dikt" he refers to the poem *Bön*; *Till min hembygd* was written in 1804.

That the spirit of *Till min hembygd* is reflected in *Bön* is evident from the fourth stanza of *Bön* where Tegnér says:

Må jag få en maka och en hydda
och en graf i egna bygdens famn.

In the last stanza of *Till min hembygd* he says:

Din son, o hembygd, vinne
dock i din hilda famn en hydda någon gång.

⁴ Cf. editor's note to *Varningen*, *Esaias Tegnér's Efterlemnade Skrifter* Ny samling, III, 1874, p. 124.

often wrote love poetry⁵ and with whom he had (up to the time of his break with her in 1824), been on most intimate personal terms.

In *Erotisk fantasi* the poet (i. e., the lover), entreats his beloved not to be too severe with him and assures her of his fidelity and the warmth of his passion:

Mitt hjertas drottning du, mitt väsens kärna,
duenda sköna morgonstjerna
uti min natt, var ej för hård mot mig!
Du vet hur jag tillbeder dig
med mannens fasthet, skaldens värma:
kom låt oss älska, låt oss svärma!

This attitude on the part of the lover (*var ej för hård mot mig!*) certainly corresponds to Tegnér's own attitude towards Martina von Schwerin, who in turn, was very firm in repulsing all Tegnér's erotic advances. Tegnér, on this account, often felt her to be cold and unappreciative of his great devotion (cf. his letter of 1825 to Brinkman⁶ just after the break with Martina). The expression *skaldens värma* may possibly also reflect the personal attitude of the poet.

The opening lines of the poem:

Det dagas ren!
Och morgonrodnans gyllne sken,
det purpurroda förbud dagen skickar,
kring nejden blickar.
Men hvilken natt som slutad är,
hur full af drömmar och begär!

give us the key to the situation involved in the poem. The lover has been waiting in vain the whole night long for his beloved; his comfort now is to sing the praises of his beloved

⁵ Cf., e. g., *Med sin drifva strödd i håret* (1822) and other poems, mentioned by E. Wrangel, *Martina von Schwerin*, Stockholm, 1912, pp. 131 ff.

⁶ "Det är en obeskrifligt bitter känsla att misstänka det den man älskar ej förstår kärleken. Jag talar ej om förståndsgåfvor, men endast om känslor. Att ge bort ett fullt, ett rikt hjärta och få i utbyte ett utfattigt, som därtill med tas tillbaka, utan att man själf kan återtaga sitt eget bättre—erkänn att detta är den grymmaste olycka i människolifvet." Cf. also Tegnér's letter to Brinkman, January 26, 1826.

and to assure her of his fidelity. That this situation may have been suggested by Martina's 'flykt' seems to me just as plausible an assumption as that this event (i. e., the break with Martina) affected the portrayal of Ingeborg's character in *Afskedet*, as Sylwan⁷ maintains.

Erotisk fantasi has, furthermore, certain features in common with the *Frithiofssaga*. For instance, in *Erotisk fantasi* the lover would, if possible, make a gift of the *sun, stars, and earth* to his beloved:

Ack! Om jag sol och stjernor hade,
jag dem för dina fötter lade,
och jorden med sin sorg och fröjd
jag gäfvé bort åt dig förnöjd.

So too in the opening canto of the *Frithiofssaga*, Frithiof and Ingeborg would, as a token of their love, make each other impossible gifts of this nature, i. e., the *earth, sea, sun, and moon*. Thus, for instance, Ingeborg says:

Du knapp på Odens kungastol,
du verdens öga, gyllne soll
Var du blott min, din blanka skifva
till sköld jag ville Frithiof gifva.

It seems to me quite probable that the passage quoted from *Erotisk fantasi* is a reminiscence of the same sentiment (i. e., the lover's desire to make gifts of the *sun, moon, stars, etc.*) in the *Frithiofssaga*. The first canto (*Frithiof och Ingeborg*), of the *Frithiofssaga* was completed in 1824 or 1825, which is about the time assumed for the composition of *Erotisk fantasi*, i. e., not long after the break with Martina von Schwerin (1824).

The internal evidence of the poem, therefore, points towards the probability that *Erotisk fantasi* was inspired by Tegnér's break with Martina von Schwerin. To be sure, there were other women towards whom Tegnér at this time (ca. 1824-1825)

⁷ Otto Sylwan, "Tegnér's Fritjofs saga," *Edda*, X, 4, 1918, p. 217: "Skalden blev upprörd över friherrinnans flykt, men tillika imponerad. Han uppskattade henne för visso icke mindre därför, att han i viss mån blivit visad tillbaka, och denna uppskattning har kommit Ingeborg tillgodo. Den har bidragit till att *Afskedet* står så högt över Fritjofs lycka i stil, i poetisk värde."

cherished erotic sentiments (notably "Eufrosyne" Palm and Hilda Wijk), but of all the women with whom Tegnér was on intimate terms, Martina von Schwerin influenced him most both in his emotional life and in his literary activities.

III

Hittebarnet

The poem *Hittebarnet* was written after the year 1812,⁸ but, I believe, before the time of the composition of *Mjelsjukan* (1825), as I shall in the following attempt to show.

Hittebarnet consists of only two stanzas, as follows:

Menskan—tänk uppå de orden—
kommer från en okänd ort
är ett hittebarn på jorden;
tiden fann det ved sin port.

Barnet växer, går i skolen:
sen dess skoltid slutats här,
får det kanske bortom solen
veta hvem dess fader är.

The central thought of the poem is as follows: The origin of the human soul is unknown, man is the "foundling of time;" he passes through the school of life in preparation for a higher existence when he shall at last meet his Father in Heaven; then "the foundling child" shall know his parent (i. e., discover the divinity of his own soul).

This philosophical (essential Neo-platonic) concept is very typical of Tegnér's religious thought, and occurs repeatedly in his poetry.⁹ One striking instance may be noted in *Resignationen* (1808) where Tegnér likewise represents man as the "foundling of time," and ignorant of his own origin:

Hvad stolthet drifver dig, du hittebarn af tiden,
som ej ditt väsens ursprung vet?

⁸ The poem is included under *Strövers* in *Blandade Dikter efter 1812, Esaias Tegnér's Efterlemnade Skrifter*, Ny Samling III, 1874, p. 112.

⁹ Cf. my article "Tegnér's Poetic Treatment of Death," *Scand. Studies and Notes*, VI, 4, 1920, pp. 99-104.

And, again, in the same poem he represents God as an all-merciful and loving Father:

(Har du) ej nå'nsin ofvån stjernor anat
en fader för allt godt och skönt?

As the poem *Resignationen* shows, the theme of *Hittebarnet* must have been in Tegnér's mind long before 1812.

But it is in *Mjeltsjukan* (1825) that we find the most striking similarity (both in thought and language) to *Hittebarnet*. Indeed, the last two verses of *Mjeltsjukan*, which furnish this distressing poem with such a dramatic conclusion, seem to be nothing more than an abbreviated version of the last stanza of *Hittebarnet*. In *Mjeltsjukan* the poet says:

Och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,
får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen,

and in *Hittebarnet*:

Barnet växer, går i skolen,
sen dess skoltid slutats här,
får det kanske bortom solen
veta hvem dess fader är.

In both poems *skolen* rimes with *solen*; *Mjeltsjukan's*

Och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,

corresponds almost verbally to *Hittebarnet's*

Barnet växer, går i skolen;

and the same is true of *Mjeltsjukan's*

får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen

in relation to *Hittebarnet's*

*får det kanske bortom solen
veta hvem dess fader är.*

On account of this close agreement in thought and language between the closing verses of *Mjeltsjukan* and of *Hittebarnet*, the inference is not unwarranted that Tegnér had this last stanza of *Hittebarnet* in mind when in *Mjeltsjukan* he sought to give expression to the final destiny of men. Tegnér never

had any grievance with God;¹⁰ it was upon man alone that he poured out the vials of his wrath (as in *Mjeltsjukan*). Accordingly, when in *Mjeltsjukan* the poet came to express the relation of a benign God towards weak and erring humanity, it may be concluded that the poem *Hittebarnet* (which reveals precisely this relation of a benign God to his children), suggested itself to the poet's mind and that he immediately utilized it, changing it only slightly to conform to the meter of his own poem.

It was characteristic of Tegnér in all his pessimistic poems to seek a final solution in something beyond this world (i. e., in his transcendental idealism). In *Religionen*, for instance, it is religion that makes life worth living, in spite of misfortunes; so at the end of the poem Tegnér says:

Naturens sista stund sig röjer,
löst är det band, den sammanhöll:
men i din famn jag frälst mig höjer
och lugn min sänkta blick fördröjer
på gruset af den verld, som föll.

In *Ynglingens sotsäng*, which continues the pessimistic view of life contained in *Religionen*, it is the eternal verities that take away death's sting. So the poem ends with the words:

och döden tröstas blott af vänskap, dygd och tro.

So too in *Mjeltsjukan*, when Tegnér looked out past his earthly afflictions into the spirit beyond, the conception of the fatherhood of God seems to have occurred to him in that form in which he had expressed it in his little poem *Hittebarnet* some years before. These words of comfort serve as a conclusion to *Mjeltsjukan*, just as the lines referred to above conclude the poems *Religionen* and *Ynglingens sotsäng*.

Hittebarnet is thoroughly optimistic in tone and could not possibly have been suggested by *Mjeltsjukan*. *Mjeltsjukan*, on the other hand, is thoroughly pessimistic in tone, except for its conclusion (which is most probably a reflection of *Hitte-*

¹⁰ Cf. my article "Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry," *Scand. Studies and Notes*, III, 112-133, (1916).

barnet). Therefore it may be concluded that *Hittebarnet* was written before the time of *Mjeltsjukan* (i. e., between the years 1812 and 1825).

Fredrik Böök¹¹ (*Esaias Tegnér*, I, p. 397) quotes the last two verses of *Mjeltsjukan* as a characteristic expression of Tegnér's conception of the fatherhood of God ("fadersbegreppet"), but he makes no mention of *Hittebarnet*, which most probably furnished Tegnér with the model for these verses. That Böök does not mention *Hittebarnet* in this connection again indicates that too little attention has been paid to Tegnér's posthumous poetry. *Hittebarnet* is not so important in itself as in its bearing upon *Mjeltsjukan*.

Mjeltsjukan is Tegnér's great autobiographical poem, the reflection of a state of mind which became more or less permanent with him. A proof of the profound impression which the sentiment of *Mjeltsjukan* made upon him is the fact that many of the phrases which he used in this poem, such as *hittebarnet*, *människan som går i tidens skola*, re-occur in his letters¹² for instance, to Martina von Schwerin (March 10, 1826; May 25, 1826). We see then that the impression regarding *hittebarnet* must have been very strong to linger with him after the poem *Mjeltsjukan* was written.

In a letter to *M. Lagerlöf* (December 22, 1833) Tegnér gives us a little light on the psychology of the composition of his pessimistic poems. He says¹³ that when "this spirit of Saul" (i. e., the attacks of depression) come over him the only relief he could obtain was to give full vent to his spleen by bitter and sarcastic remarks, which he regretted, however, as soon

¹¹ "Fadern är urbilden till det goda och sköna—och denna förening, som närmar sig, ja nästan smälter samman med den kristna åskådningen, är hos Tegnér konstant; den återkommer i *Mjeltsjukan*, där det till slut heter:

Och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,
får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen."

¹² Cf. E. Wrangel, *Martina von Schwerin*, 1912, p. 192.

¹³ "När denne Sauls-ande kommer öfver mig, känner jag ofta en obeskriflig bitterhet, som ingenting tål, ingenting skonar, hvarken i himmelen eller på jorden. Den ger sig hos mig vanligtvis luft genom menniskofiendtliga reflexioner, sarkasmer och infall, som knappt äro sagda eller nedskrifna, innan jag ångrar dem, men då är det för sent."

as they had been expressed. Now, this is exactly what happened in *Mjeltsjukan*. After he had given full vent to his spleen and his attack of *mjeltsjuka* was allayed, a reaction set in and his better nature asserted itself. The conclusion of the poem became, therefore, an expression of his religious idealism which was suggested by one of his favorite themes, *Hittebarnet*.

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A NOTE ON TWO FRAGMENTS OF
ARNÓRR JARLASKÁLD¹

The author of the Third Grammatical Treatise in the Younger Edda has preserved for us two fragments in *hrynhent*, both of which he ascribes to Arnórr Jarlaskáld:²

- (A) Seinkun varð, þás hlébarðs hanka
hnikaði ór en ljóta bára.³
- (B) Kljúfa létik í kaupfór dúfu
knarra minn við borð en stinnu.⁴

In the case of the former fragment, our author is still more explicit in stating its provenience ("sem Arnórr kvað i Magnúsdrápu").⁵ The second is quoted without mention of the poem from which it is taken ("sem Arnórr kvað" simply), but meter and content of the lines make it very probable that they belong with the first fragment.

The authenticity of these ascriptions seems to be supported by the anecdote recounted in *Morkinskinna*,⁶ which tells of Arnor's appearance before the two kings, Harold and Magnus, to deliver a poem composed on each. This little tale, an excellent example of the narrative art characteristic of the Icelandic saga, describes the entrance of the scald, who had been summoned while engaged in caulking his ship, his hands still covered with tar:

"And when he was come to the hall, he cried to the keeper of the door, 'Make way for the king's poet!' Then he went in, stood before King Magnus and King Harold and spake, 'Hail to you, mighty chieftains twain!' Then King Harold says, 'Whose poem shall be said first?' Arnor answers, 'The younger

¹ Read at a meeting of Professor Magnus Olsen's seminar in Oslo, October 22, 1925.

² Citations in this article are according to Finnur Jónsson's emended and normalized text (*Skjaldedigtning* B p. 306).

³ *Den tredje og fjerde grammatiske Afhandling i Snorres Edda*, ed. B. M. Ólsen, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶ Unger's ed. pp. 31 f.

man's first.' The king asks, 'Why his first?' 'Lord,' says he, 'it is a saw that youth is hot of temper.' But it was deemed the greater honor fell to him whose poem was said first. Now the scald begins his poem and mentions first in the poem the jarls west of the sea, and then he tells of his own voyages. And when he is come so far, King Harold speaks to King Magnus: 'Why sittest thou here, lord, over this poem which he hath made of his voyages and of the jarls in the western isles?' King Magnus answers: 'Let us abide him yet a while, kinsman; I ween, ere he have done thou wilt think me praised enough.' Then the scald recites this verse:

Magnús, hlýð til máttigs óðar,
mangi veit ek fremra annan;
yppa rǫðumk yðru kappi,
Jóta gramr, í kvæði fljótu;
haukr réttir est þú, Hǫrða dróttinn,
hverr gramr es þér stórum verri;
meiri verði þinn an þeira
þrífnuðr allr, unz himinn rífnar."

King Harold interrupts the poet with a petulant "Praise this king as thou wilt, but speak not ill of other kings." When the poem on Magnus is finished, Arnor proceeds at once to recite his encomium on Harold, *Blágagladrápa*, "a good poem" according to the saga-man. But King Harold, asked to deliver a judgment on the relative merits of the two *drápur*, replies: "It is easy to see what the difference is between the poems. My poem will soon fall to the ground and none will remember it, but this ode which is made on King Magnus will be recited as long as men dwell in Northern lands."

It is apparent, then, from the evidence available to us that these two fragments (A certainly, and B probably) were believed in the first half of the thirteenth century to belong to Arnor's poem on King Magnus usually known under the title *Hrynhenda*, which is among extant poems the earliest considerable *drápa* composed in the new meter. The external evidence seems clearly sufficient to justify an editor of the Scaldic poetry in including the fragments in his text of *Hrynhenda*, and still further, in placing them first, as parts of a sort of introduction or exordium the rest of which is lost to us.

Nevertheless, we find that editors and commentators are by no means unanimous on this point. Vigfússon⁷ prints the fragments first as "Introduction," consistently following the testimony of *Edda* and *Morkinskinna*, and B. M. Ólsen⁸ apparently is in agreement with this point of view. Wisén,⁹ on the other hand, is more skeptical; he does not include the fragments in his text, but reserves them for his commentary, where he quotes them with the remark "*quae fragmenta fortasse*¹⁰ ad encomium de Magno rege referenda sunt" and a reference to Ólsen's book. Finnur Jónsson, finally, prints the strophe beginning "Magnús, hlýð til máttigs óðar" first, followed by the fragments (in the order B, A) as strophes 2 and 3.

What is the reason for this disagreement among scholars when the testimony seems so clear and unequivocal? The hesitation of Wisén and Finnur Jónsson to follow the external evidence concerning the place of the fragments in the poem is doubtless due to a feeling that there is something wrong with the tradition, in spite of the positive testimony of *Edda* and *Morkinskinna*. They are deterred from giving absolute credence to this tradition by aesthetic considerations, by the difficulty of believing that the magnificent strophe in which the poet invites his king to give ear to his "mighty song" could have stood originally in any other place than at the beginning of the poem. The impartial critic who reads this strophe will find it hard to resist the force of such an impression.

Is it possible to set up an hypothesis which will explain this conflict of external and internal evidence and suggest a solution of the genuine difficulty with which we have here to do?

To what extent are we justified in questioning the validity of the tradition represented by *Morkinskinna* and *Edda*? Between the date of composition of *Hrynhenda* (1046), and the first testimony to the existence of a tradition ascribing the fragments to this poem (*Morkinskinna* about 1220), lies

⁷ *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, II, p. 186.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 193 (footnote 4) and 201 (footnote 3).

⁹ *Carmina Norræna*, I, p. 142.

¹⁰ The italics are mine.

a period of approximately 175 years. It cannot be denied that this is a time sufficiently long to make a corruption of the text conceivable. Internal evidence speaks against the inclusion of the fragments in the poem, and it is certainly thinkable that they may be extraneous elements which have become attached to it in the interval between 1046 and 1220. Such a conjecture implies assuming the existence of another poem in *hrynhent* by Arnor, very probably a *drápa* on the Orkney jarls, to whom he was bound by the closest ties of friendship and marriage for at least eight years. It can scarcely be doubted that Arnor had tried his hand at making poems before the date of *Hrynhenda*, and that such poems sang the praise of his noble patrons and kinsmen, from his loyal service to whom he acquired his cognomen "Jarlaskáld."¹¹ An allusion to his own personal fortunes would have been entirely appropriate in such a poem addressed to men with whom he had lived on terms of the greatest intimacy, whereas it was condemned as a piece of tactless verbosity by the thirteenth century critic who believed it to be a part of the *Magnúsdrápa*.¹² It is perfectly possible to imagine that fragments of such a lost poem of Arnor's may have become attached to his more famous ode to King Magnus in the same meter.

If we assume that something of this sort did happen, then the story in *Morkinskinna* may be easily explained as a tale invented *ex post facto*, the epic expression of a current critical attitude toward the disturbing elements in the poem as then transmitted. It may well be one of the aetiological anecdotes of which it would not be difficult to cite other examples in our source.¹³ The tale of Ulf the Wealthy (*Morsk.*, pp. 66 ff.),

¹¹ I am quite unable to understand Mogk's statement: "Dass Arnórr auf diese beiden Jarle oder auch nur auf Rognvald noch andere Gedichte (i. e. than the two *erfidrápur* preserved to us) verfasst hat, ist schwerlich anzunehmen." *Pauls Grundriss*² II, 1, p. 687.

¹² See *Snorra Edda*, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, where the lines are quoted as an example of *macrologia*: "hér segir hann frá rakfórum sínum, en þat heyrir ekki konungs lofi."

¹³ Cf. Mogk's judgment (*loc cit.*, p. 811): "Die Morkinskinna ist ein rein kompilatorisches Werk. Der Verfasser liebt es, alle möglichen kleinen Erzählungen . . . einzuflechten. Er geht dabei ganz kritiklos zu Werke und zieht

which is patently invented to illustrate King Harold's harsh and grasping nature, is a case in point.¹⁴ The anecdote of Arnor's appearance before the two kings, with its skilful characterization of the three persons introduced, Arnor, the quick-witted, self-reliant scald, Magnus, the type of the "good king," Harold, the jealous, overbearing tyrant, decidedly suggests a conscious art, shaping its material with sovereign freedom, aiming at aesthetic effect, rather than sober history.

The hypothesis which is here propounded has the merit of taking into account all the available facts and suggesting a possible reconciliation of seemingly contradictory evidence, without being *per se* inherently improbable. As such it may deserve the consideration of future editors of the Scaldic poems.

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heran, was er aufreiben kann Hier und da zeigen sich sogar die Anfänge des romantischen Einflusses."

¹⁴ See Mogk's characterization of this *þáttur*, *loc. cit.*, p. 826.

TVÍBYTNA

In an article *Om namnet Tvebottnetjärnen och om "tvebottnade" sjöar*,¹ Jöran Sahlgren explains the name of the Swedish lake *Tvåbottnetjärnen* as "the lake with two bottoms" (*tjärnen med de två botnarna*). The earlier, generally accepted interpretation was "the lake with two bays." The word *botn* is common in Old Icelandic in the sense "the head of a bay";² and the word has been preserved in this meaning as second element of Swedish place names. But in the case of *Tvåbottnetjärnen*, Sahlgren feels an interpretation based on this meaning of *botn* inappropriate, as the two bays are too small and insignificant to be termed *botnar* or to have given name to the whole lake.

Sahlgren's new interpretation, based on the more common meaning of *botn*, 'bottom,' was suggested by a rather common Swedish popular superstition of lakes divided horizontally by a layer of mud and weeds solid enough to be termed a "bottom." Such a formation made it possible for fish to escape the nets by going through openings of this layer into the lower half of the lake. It was considered possible to blast this base with grenades or bombs in order to get at the fish. Sahlgren gives, in all, six references to accounts of such lakes.

Finnur Jónsson in an article *Tvíbytna*³ accepts Sahlgren's interpretation and adds evidence from similar Icelandic superstitions. The Icelandic word *tvíbytna*, f. (plur. *tvíbytnur*) "a bottomless lake or pit, in popular belief, or thought to be in hidden connection with the sea"⁴ is, according to Jónsson, still a well known word. According to an explanation quoted from *Íslenskar þjóðsögur ok ævintýri*, Vol. I, p. 662, *tvíbytnur* are lakes (*vötn*) connected subterraneously with other bodies of water and of unknown depth. Thus in the otherwise shallow *Þorskafjörður* there are exceedingly deep *vakir* thought to be

¹ *Namn och Bygd*, I, 45.

² *Cleasby—Vigfússon*, p. 73.

³ *Namn och Bygd*, I, 75.

⁴ *Cleasby—Vigfússon*, p. 645. Cf. also *tvíbytna* and *tvíbytnuvatn* in Blöndal, *Íslensk-Dansk Ordbog*, p. 872.

connected underground with the *Ísafjörður*. Finnur Jónsson concludes: "The significant characteristic of the Icelandic *tvíbytnur* is then—besides the depth, cf. the Swedish—the subterranean connection with another body of water (the sea), and it is from this that the name is to be explained."

In the Icelandic medical manuscript *Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43^b* is a brief characterization of the sea which throws light on the above conclusions and which, though not an absolute parallel, serves to confirm the interpretations of Sahlgren and Jónsson. The passage in question occurs on folio 4 recto where it is introduced without any connection with what precedes or follows:

Þar sem sior er diupaztur nidur at hellu. Þa eru niu. c. fadma. enn firir nedan sio sextog hella. enn firir nedann hellu .vi. togur sior. enn firir nedan sio nagls þyck hella.

I translate the passage as follows:

Where the sea is deepest, it is nine hundred fathoms to the stone base. But below the sea is a stone base of sixty [fathoms], and below the stone base is a sea of sixty [fathoms], and below the sea is a stone base of a nail's thickness.⁴

At first sight the passage of the Dublin manuscript may seem to bear no relation to the Swedish and Icelandic popular traditions. The account has nothing of that peculiar folkloristic turn of the Swedish superstitions; it seems rather in tone to suggest a "learned" source (and it is worth noting that practically everything else in the manuscript is of "learned" origin). One cannot say that the account is in any way based on the popular Swedish or Icelandic traditions of *tvebottnar* or *tvíbytnur*; nor can one, without further evidence, claim that the popular traditions represent a corruption of the "learned" account preserved in the Dublin manuscript. The significant fact, however, is that we have here an absolutely clear tradition of a body of water (here the ocean), horizontally divided

⁴ For a brief account of the MS see M. Kristensen, *Harpestræng*, Kjöbenhavn, 1908-1920, p. xxvi, and Henning Larsen, *Danske Studier*, 1924, p. 177.

⁵ I am under obligations to Professor Magnus Olsen for a verification of my translation and for the reference to Sahlgren's article.

by a secondary base (or bottom); and this fact serves to strengthen the above cited interpretations of *tväbottne-tjärnen* and *tväbytnur*.⁷

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⁷ That similar traditions have been known in Norway is clear from a passage in Jonas Lie's *Trold*, Copenhagen, 1891, p. 136: "Det maatte være en Huldrefisk, mente Rorskaren, for det Ord gik, at denne sjö var af dem som havde dobbelt Bund." Of course, Lie's stories are not folk-tales, but clearly such a motif as this must be borrowed from popular tradition. It is most probably a Nordland superstition, as are most of Lie's folk motifs.

REVIEWS

FREDRIKA BREMER av Ellen Kleman. Svenska Kvinnor III. Uppsala, J. A. Lindblads Förlag, 1925. Pp. 288.

During the last dozen years Fredrika Bremer has been the subject of considerable study and research. Swedish scholars, realizing perhaps as never before the magnitude of her achievement, the import of her spiritual and intellectual force, have with varying success and sympathy uncovered new material and thrown new light on her life and mission. Articles have been written about her, new editions of her writings printed, and four large volumes of her correspondence published. America, too, has begun to revive an interest in that Swedish spinster whose account of the United States and their people of 1850 has become a classic.

The basic Aldersparre-Leijonhufvud biography of Fredrika Bremer, published about thirty years ago, has long needed a supplement. Therefore, we welcome a new biography, which is written by an obvious specialist in her line, by one who, besides, has been able to profit by all the recent investigations in the subject. The author, Ellen Kleman, has since 1914 been editor of *Hertha*, the official organ of Fredrika Bremerförbundet, she has in a leading capacity been associated with several reform movements for women, has often been a delegate to international conferences, and from 1915 to 1920 edited, together with Klara Johansson, the letters of Fredrika Bremer. Miss Kleman's work appears as the third volume of the series *Svenska Kvinnor*—the two previous volumes treating of Jenny Lind and Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht—and is a memorial to the sixtieth anniversary of Miss Bremer's death.

Miss Kleman has had access to much unpublished source material that has not been available to other research scholars. As a result, we now obtain a more intimate description of Fredrika Bremer's family and heritage than has ever been given before, and we learn all we need to know about Fredrika's relation to Per Böcklin. So far as heredity and personal affiliations are concerned, the new biography represents a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this Swedish feminist and woman. The biographer has in addition had the inspiring stimulus of direct communication with Miss Margaret Howitt of Cornwall (daughter of Mary Howitt, the English translator of Fredrika Bremer), who at an advanced age is still able to tell of the twelve months spent over sixty years ago with Miss Bremer in Sweden.

The author, in order to conform to the limits of the serial requirements, has compressed her facts and summaries into a little less than three hundred pages, which has its advantages. It has necessitated a radical but entirely possible condensation of known data in order to devote commensurate space to the newly discovered material. Over twenty pages are rightly given to Fredrika's travels in America. The book as a whole gives an impression similar to that produced on images by a clear, strong condensing lens—the impression of compactness and sharpness without undue heaviness. It gives an effect of

objectivity, truth, and realism. We feel that Miss Kleman has been able to focus the attention on the essentials, and has succeeded in arousing that sympathy for and understanding of Fredrika Bremer's *life* which is absolutely necessary for a just interpretation of her writings and social welfare activities. Her novels were all more or less autobiographical, their inception often going back to the most harrowing inner experiences of the novelist's own life. In a concentrated biography like the one before us, we can see plainly how much her stories, and other achievements, were the reflection of her personal self, her observations, her sufferings. From her forbears Fredrika inherited not only an undefined Wanderlust, a sense of philanthropy, and certain practical qualities, but also a tendency to insanity—an insanity coupled with genius perhaps; and it is not improbable that in the behavior of the awkward child, the incorrigible *enfant terrible*, and in the revolts of the convention-bound young woman, we see the desperate struggle to throw off this threatening calamity. She freed herself finally through a supreme exertion of will power and through the satisfaction derived from an unselfish, untiring public service. Her mind was saved by labor through the opportunity of being useful.

Among other facts, causes, or conditions well established or illustrated in Miss Kleman's work, the following may be noted: Frederika Bremer was probably born in Åbo and not on Tuorla estate, as is generally maintained; the Bremer family left Finland largely for personal reasons, while political considerations were but of secondary importance; Fredrika's education as the daughter of a lady of fashion was, so far as languages were concerned, more foreign than native, and as a result she had, later, cause for complaining of her difficulties in writing Swedish; in her early life there was often a violent dualism in her nature between the demand for the more circumscribed domestic felicity and the desires for a more contemplative, studious life with a more universal usefulness; she learned that the idealistic dreams of equality, where employer and employee were "*lika goda*," did not work out well in practice; Fredrika Bremer knew, it seems, what love was, for she had loved, and had been loved, but in every case it was a passion unrequited by one party or the other; on the other hand, Böcklin, the talented clergyman and spiritual philosopher from Kristianstad, could have married Fredrika if she had been convinced of the depth and strength of his passion. Miss Kleman writes: "*Först och sist rörde det sig om det för henne väsentliga: kunde hon blott känna en betvingande kraft i hans känsla, så blev hon hans.*"

These are some of the reviewer's reactions to the new biography of Fredrika Bremer, the Swedish writer who, before the days of Strindberg, Selma Lagerlöf, and Ellen Key, was the one best known abroad. Incidentally, Miss Kleman's Swedish language displays an extraordinary wealth of vocabulary, showing the influence of a broad cosmopolitan culture, study and travel. The reviewer has noted a misprint on page 186: the date of Longfellow's visit to Sweden should, of course, be 1835, not 1825.

Miss Kleman's intensive work can be recommended to all who desire a readable résumé of Frederika Bremer's life and influence.

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THE SWEDES AND THEIR CHIEFTAINS, by Verner von Heidenstam, translated from the Swedish by Charles Wharton Stork. 346 pp. Bound in cloth. With a map of Sweden in its days of world power. \$2.50. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. New York. 1925.

This volume is the twenty-fifth of Scandinavian Classics. The book is a series of biographies from different periods of Swedish history. Verner von Heidenstam emphasizes the individual character of the Swedish nation from time immemorial to the present day. He takes us back to the stone age, when human beings are sacrificed. As the centuries come and go, we catch vivid glimpses of Swedish life as it is affected by new discoveries and inventions. The Yngling kings have swords of iron, with which they wage frequent wars. The fighting spirit of the Northmen will not be contained within the narrow limits of home and country, and they seek larger fields for military exploits. Ansgar, the Apostle of the North, is sent to Sweden to turn the minds of its inhabitants to more peaceful pursuits. Then follow stories of Swedish kings and regents: St. Erik, Birger Jarl, Valdemar and Magnus Lock-the-barn, Engelbrekt, Karl Knutsson, Sten Sture the Elder, Sten Sture the Younger, and Gustaf Vasa.

In the days of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden becomes a world power. Charles X Gustaf continues the expansion of the country and brings it to its greatest territorial development. Charles XI has the more thankless task of replenishing the treasury of the nation. Then follows the extraordinary career of Charles XII. All of these rulers are portrayed by a master hand, and the important contribution of each is skilfully indicated in the course of the story.

But Heidenstam not only calls attention to military events in the nation's past. He speaks also of the years of peace and introduces the scientists Rudbeck and Linnaeus at Upsala. Gustaf III is seen surrounded by his artist friends. These are the days of Leopold, Kellgren, Thorild, and Lidner. Last but not least in importance, are the hundred years of peace, during which time the Swedes enjoy the highest prosperity ever known in their history.

When an author can cover so much historic ground and present the facts of history in such a fascinating way that the stories grip the attention of old and young alike, he has truly made a contribution to education. *The Swedes and Their Chieftains* is a book that presents the significant events of the past with the accuracy of the scholarly investigator and the quickening imagination of the poet.

While the various chapters may be read without regard to what precedes or follows, they do, as a matter of fact, hang together as pictures from the life of a nation that has had an uninterrupted existence as a free people for thousands of years. The importance of the contribution of the individual leader within the nation at this particular time is constantly apparent. Ansgar was the great religious leader; Birger Jarl introduced law and order in the political world; Gustaf Vasa re-asserted the independence of the nation; Gustavus Adolphus brought Sweden into the rank of the great powers. Thus we might go on to show in other instances how each person in the drama of the past played his particular part.

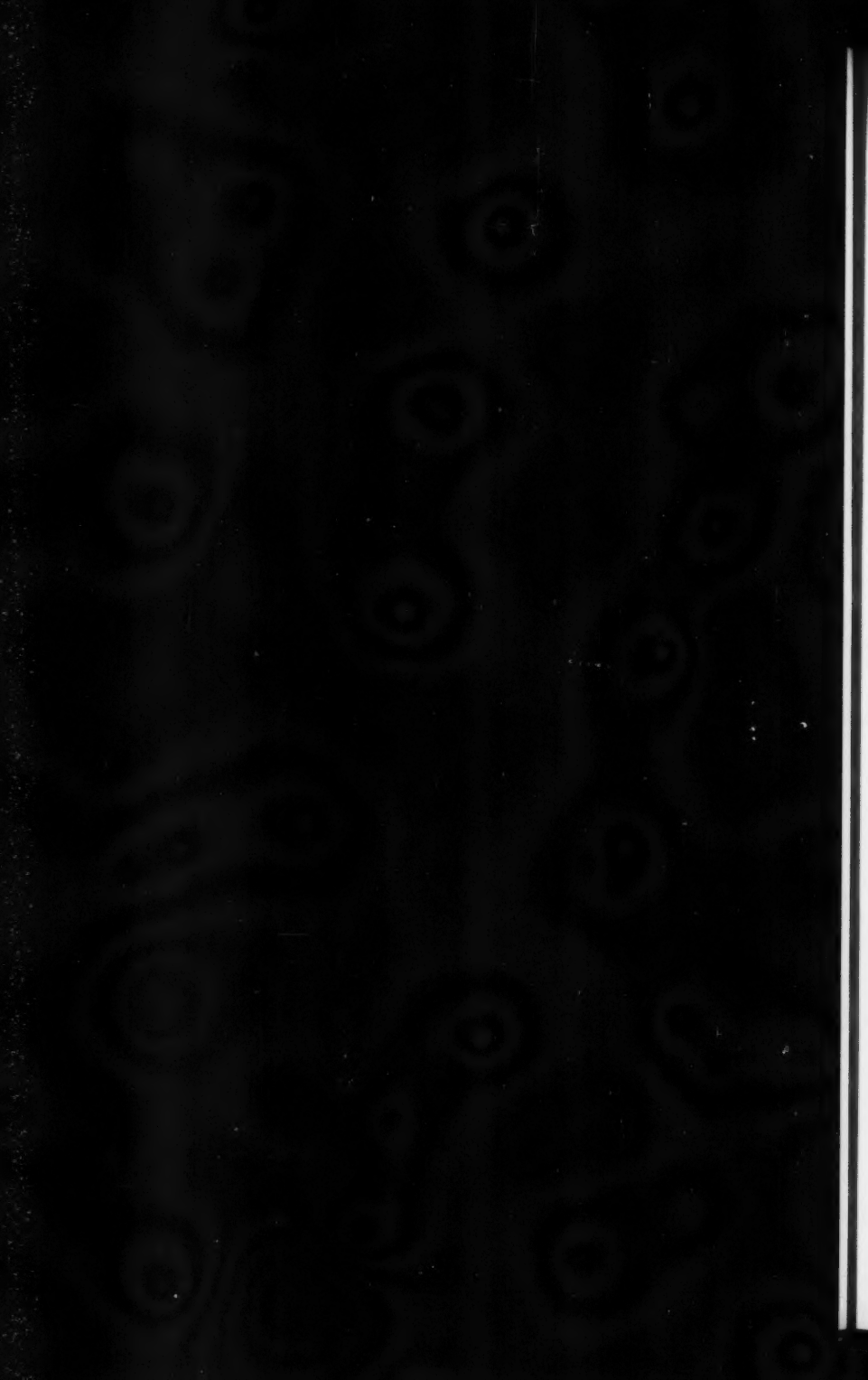
The translation has been very ably done by Charles Wharton Stork, already favorably known by his *Anthology of Swedish Lyrics* (Vol. IX in Scandinavian Classics) and *The Charles Men*, also by Verner von Heidenstam (Vols. XV and XVI of Scandinavian Classics). The translation of *The Swedes and Their Chieftains* is so excellent that I hesitate to call attention to any imperfections. Here and there, however, a smoother rendering might have been found; e. g., "tradition explains the name in that his laws put a lock on the peasants' barns" (p. 91, last two lines); "you have not entrusted me with affairs as your father used to" (p. 127, last two lines); "have everything ready for when I come back" (p. 143, lines 4 and 5); "carry off those accused" (p. 145, lines 1 and 2); "he climbed up it" (p. 146, lines 4 and 5). In spite of similar little flaws, however, the translator has given us an admirable rendering of *Svenskarne och deras hövdingar*.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation is to be commended for having published this work, and it is to be hoped that many Americans will avail themselves of this unusual opportunity to familiarize themselves with the outstanding events in the history of Sweden. It is, indeed, seldom that one finds a résumé of a nation's past presented in such an entertaining fashion within the covers of one volume.

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SWEDISH EXPLORERS INTO ANGLO-SAXON.

The old relations between Sweden and England (and America) were not very much cultivated. If you hunt through early English records you will rather seldom meet Sweden's name. And the early intellectual influences from England are easily counted in Sweden.

It is true that the Thirty Years' War caused the name of Sweden and that of Gustavus Adolphus to be mentioned and honored, but in the whirlpool of England's domestic and foreign interests—often entangled in those of more adjacent countries—Sweden's mission and people were swept away, if not for the diplomatists and statesmen, at least for the broad public. On the other hand the Puritans that played such an important part in moulding English, and American, spirit were without interest for the 18th century Sweden.

The same holds true for literature. Shakespeare, for instance, has not influenced a single early Swedish writer—and this, of course, is not to be wondered at, as at that time he failed to awaken interest on the continent as a whole—but the brilliant set of Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan authors are indeed not mirrored in Swedish literature. An exception might be the poetry of a poet from the 17th century, *Rosenhane*, whose sonnets are thought to be moulded after English pattern.

In due time Shakespeare's works came to be appreciated even in Sweden. In the early thirties of the last century *Carl August Hagberg* undertook the laborious task of translating Shakespeare's dramas into Swedish. Hagberg was a professor at the Southern Swedish university of Lund, where he lectured in aesthetics, history of literature and modern languages. His translation is a masterpiece of loyalty to the English original, as well as a happy handling of Swedish prosody and poetical language. It is interesting to look at his fine original manuscripts, kept in the university library of Lund; seldom does he make corrections, the blank verse flows unhamperedly and easily. Up to now no examination whatever has been devoted to this interesting literary document.

The universities of Upsala and Lund had then, as is easily understood, no chair for special studies in English philology; this was a mere appendix to the many duties of a professor of the kind described. At last, in the fifties, there came a separation in Upsala: a professorship in New European linguistics was offered *Böttiger*, better known as a poet. A few decades later the university authorities in Upsala succeeded in dividing this into two professorships: Romance languages and Teutonic languages. Finally, in 1904, English philology gained a special professorship in Upsala and somewhat later in Lund.

Because of the want of a chair for special philological studies in English, all philologists, true to the polyglottic, almost Rudbeckian traditions, never cared to investigate, at least more deeply, the problems offered to them in Old and Middle English. They dived into Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, and in their hearts somewhat despised such a narrow circle as a Teutonic dialect. The fault was not entirely theirs; this false opinion was only a product of the times. Our students of the history of Scandinavian vernacular tongues, from Ihre and Rask, pursued thier linguistic-historical investigations, widened and broadened by the mighty linguistic and patriotic romantic movement in the XIX century. So it came about that the time ripened for special studies in the old epochs of the different Teutonic dialects.

The first professor in English philology in Sweden was *Axel Erdmann*, a scientific scholar of the old polyglottic type. He got the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1871, when he defended a thesis on the English participial ending *-ing*. As a teacher of numerous students he spurred their interest for English philology and had the great pleasure of seeing three of his former students become professors at different Swedish universities. It is true, however, that the title "grand old man" would be too wide for him. But his merit was to foster at least one grand man that did not become old: *Erik Björkman*, his successor as professor in Upsala (d. 1919). Erdmann has taken much interest in the early Teutonic tribal names, and published several papers on the Angles and Goths, valuable as careful registers of the names.

Björkman's most prominent work is "Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English," where the author is fortunate enough to show the Scandinavian home for many words, now regarded as truly and purely Anglo-Saxon. Through his work he was able to shed new light on the Norsemen's habitations in Old England (The Dane Law) and their political influence. The question, What's in a name? interested Björkman deeply and brought forth brilliant monographs on personal names, surnames and place names from every English epoch. As a teacher he won the heart of the students and found around him in Upsala a great many young scholars trained in his branch.

His contemporary in Lund was—and is—*Eilert Ekwall*, a thorough scholar with many-sided interests. He began his career in 1904 with studies in Shakespeare's vocabulary, but afterwards developed into a student of names, too. His main interest concerns the contact between Scandinavian and Celtic cultures ("Scandinavians and Celts in the Northwest of England," 1918), and several interesting pamphlets have later been published by him on this interesting subject. Because of his profound training in the department of place-names—Scandinavia may be regarded as one of the pioneer countries in this respect—and because of his deep knowledge of the history of English sounds he has been asked to collaborate in the committee of the English Place-Name Society. As successor to Björkman in Upsala Prof. *R. L. Zachrisson* followed. His researches have been devoted to the interesting mixture of English and Anglo-Norman in Middle English periods ("A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place Names," 1909). Industrious and courageous, he has opened up new vistas in the history of English language and his most valuable work is a masterful study of the common day speech in England during 300 years, its fluctuation and changes.

Beside the chairs in English philology of the state universities of Upsala and Lund we have another one at the privately founded University of Göteborg (Gothenburg), while the also privately founded University in Stockholm lacks one! The Gothenburg professor is the most learned *Dr. Karl Sundén*,

who has special gifts for the difficult branch of linguistic philosophy, syntactical psychology and such like. His sharp faculties are excellently mirrored in his first work; "Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in Modern English" (1904).

Among university teachers Miss *Anna Paues* is not to be forgotten. She left Sweden many years ago and studied in Cambridge, where she became a fellow of the Newnham College after having published an important contribution to English philology; "A XIVth Century English Bible Version Consisting of a Prologue and Parts of the New Testament . . . together with some Introductory Chapters" (1902). We regard it as an honor that a Swede has got such a position in England; Miss Paues is also lecturing on Swedish at the University of Cambridge.

Among the younger set of English scholars are Ekwall's students, *Joel Pählsson*, whose indefatigable ability brought about the editing of another XIVth century text: "The Recluse" (1918); the fine literary critic and historian, *S.B. Liljegren*, who has succeeded in presenting the 17th century poet Milton in a new light ("Studies in Milton", 1918); and *Slettengren*, who discusses the linguistic phenomenon in English, called *aphaeresis*, i.e. *munition* instead of *ammunition*. Liljegren's mastery of practically all literatures and languages of Europe has brought an invitation to him to take over the professorship in Breslau, Germany.

Among Björkman's pupils we may first mention *Harald Lindkvist* and *Karl Kaerre*, both busy as schoolteachers. Lindkvist has also published some old texts, but his importance dates from 1912, when he published his typically Björkman investigation: "Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin." The investigation bore a Roman letter *I* but unfortunately Lindkvist seems to have found no time for a continuation. Kaerre has tasted deeply of the Anglo-Saxon well and his dry but precious concoction is a study of word-formation in Old English (1915). The present Director of the American-Swedish News Service in New York, Dr. *B. Brilioth*, is also a student of Björkman's and parted from university life with an interesting study on the "Grammar of the Dialect of Lorton" (1913).

Four other Björkmanians are *Th. Forsner* ("Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times," 1916); *Mats Redin* ("Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English," 1919); *Gösta Langenfelt* ("Typonymics, or Derivations from Local Names in English. Studies in Word-Formation and Contributions to English Lexicography," 1920); and *J. Wallenberg* ("The Vocabulary of Dan Michael's 'Ayenbite of Inwytt', a Middle English Religious Text," 1923). Redin's work is a thorough and patiently edited index of all Old English short names; its merit is, generally speaking, its strictness. Forsner gives an interesting survey over the relations between England and the Low Countries, resp. Germany up to the Middle Ages and has enriched our knowledge with many etymologies. Langenfelt's work gives interesting bits of information about the always changing English; among other details his discovery in Shakespeare's Hamlet may be mentioned. In Hamlet (II,1,7) Polonius says: "Enquire me first what Danskers are in Paris?" and all commentators have assumed that Shakespeare took up this alleged Danish word for "Danes" on purpose. Langenfelt has shown that Shakespeare made a mistake, as *Dansker* in Early New English is the name for a man from *Dansk*: Dantzic. Wallenberg is a thorough scholar with a vast knowledge of Middle English.

The old professor Erdmann has also brought one of his other students to a more prominent position: *Arvid Gabrielsson*, who in 1909 published his careful examination of "Rime as a Criterion of the Pronunciation of Spenser, Pope, Byron and Swinburne." Some other few papers have also been published by him and he has twice been acting professor.

Sweden has during the last twenty years won a fine position in the field of English philology and there is no doubt about the fact that several of those who now have to leave the university career for school-teaching would be fit for a professorship at some college. But with only three chairs in Sweden the chances are not very favorable. A beautiful way for the American Swedes to honor their mother country might be to give it a chair in English philology in Stockholm! The date is not far away when the first Swedish settlers landed in New Sweden in Delaware three hundred years ago. The living professor of

this foundation would serve as a monument for the American Swedes, which would live far longer than the statues they have erected. The foundation chair might be called "den svensk-amerikanska professuren" and comprise principally American English. Certainly it would be a fine monument linking up both countries: Sweden and U.S.A. The costs for such a project would amount to \$75,000. Considering the fact that Swedes number millions in U.S.A. the sum required is not so high. One has the right to assume that if one asked every well-situated Swedish American to give a dollar to this end he would gladly do it. Should the sum be overdrawn there would be possibilities of investing the surplus money as funds for Anglo-Swedish philologists who desire to reside for some time at an American University.

In spite of the economic difficulties Anglo-Saxon students in Sweden have succeeded very well. Here a few lines written by two distinguished masters in this branch may be quoted. The well-known Professor Jespersen in Copenhagen says in a letter some years ago speaking of "the brilliant situation of Swedish studies in English": "There is scarcely any country (but Sweden) that during the last years has made so many fine and valuable contributions to our science." Professor Craigie of Oxford, one of the honored editors of the New English Dictionary, adds the following remark in a letter of 1920: "It is getting to be quite difficult to keep up with all the studies in English that are being carried on in Sweden at the present time."

American English is, as a matter of fact, very much neglected among Swedish scholars, in spite of the saying of Oscar Wilde: "England and America have very much in common, except language." Only one or two touch upon the subject of American literature. Dr. *Gunnar Bjurman* has devoted a study to Edgar Allan Poe (1916) and *Liljegren* has analysed Henry James' philosophy and outlook. To a certain extent these conditions depend upon the circumstance that it is nearly impossible for a linguist student to go over to America and get training in American colleges. We must not forget that Sweden has only six million inhabitants and that, as a consequence, the wealth of the country is comparatively small.

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GÖSTA LANGENFELT

NOTES ON THE POETIC EDDA¹

1) *Fjölsvinnsmál* 10

Þrymgjöll hún heitir, en hana þrír górfu

Sólblinda synir;

fjöturr fastr verþrviþ faranda hverjan

es hana hefr frá hliði.

This is the description of a magic bridge. I translate: "Thrymgjöll is its name, and the three sons of Solblindi made it; a fetter fast is laid upon every farer who opens it."

I take the last line *es hana hefr frá hliði* to mean "who raises (*hefr*²) it [the bridge] from the gate, *i.e.* who opens the bridge."

A similar gate or door, which swings around on one's heels as he enters, is described in *Sigurðarkviða en skamma*. This gate is located in Hel and closes so fast that it catches anyone who tries to get thru.

Evidently the magic bridge Thrymgjöll is a counterpart of this gate in Hel; which would explain the last half of the stanza, *viz.* that "a fetter fast is laid upon every farer who opens it."

2) *Völundarkviða* 11

Ok þeir af tóku ok þeir á létu

fyr einn útan es þeir af létu

"And they took them [the rings] off and put them back on [the string] except one which they took away."

The pronoun *þeir* I take to refer to King Nithuth and his men who have come to Völund in quest of the ring which the latter had fashioned for the king's daughter, Bothvild (cf. prose passage after stanza 17). The rings, seven hundred in all, were drawn up on a string (*á basti banga dregna*, 10); the adverbs *á* and *af* with the verb *létu*, then, evidently mean *on* [the string] and *off* [the string]. The reason why Nithuth did

¹ The quotations from the *Poetic Edda* in this article are based upon the edition of Gering-Hildebrand⁴, 1922.

² For the idea of *raising* a bridge or a door in order to open it compare *Atlamál* 44, 1-2:

Út gekk hún sþan, yppit litt hurfum.

not take more than the one ring was perhaps in order not to arouse Völund's suspicions.

3) *Hávamál* 73
Tveir'u einherjar

Many different renderings of this proverb have been made. According to my interpretation the sense of the proverb is that "it takes *two* to make a quarrel".

The word *einherjar* usually signifies those heroes who are taken up after death into Valhalla, but here the word is evidently used as a generic term for *warrior*. Literally, then, the phrase means; "Warriors are two", *i.e.* "it takes *two* warriors to make a battle".

4) *Sigurðarkviða en skamma* 4
né hunskr konungr hófsk at armi
mey frumunga fal megi Gjúka

"Nor did the Hunnish king raise the young maiden in his arms, he gave her over to the son of Gjuki."

We have here (cf. Gering, marginal note to text) evidently a case of *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, *mey* being the object of *hófsk* as well as of *fal*. To my knowledge the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction is rarely found in the *Elder Edda*, altho it is of very frequent occurrence in West Germanic poetry. An investigation of this construction in Old Norse poetry is certainly much to be desired.

5) *Sigurðarkviða en skamma* 35
Né vildak þat at mik verr átti,
áþr Gjúkungar riðu at garði,
þrír á hestum þjóðkonungar—
en þeira for þorfgi vári!

"Never did I wish for a man to have me, ere the Gjukings rode into our court, three kings on their steeds, and no need there was of that journey."

What is the reason for the subjunctive *vári* in the last verse? Altho I have translated it by an indicative I believe that the writer had a concessive idea in mind (*i.e.* "altho there was no need of that journey") which is introduced by the adversative particle *en*, 'but', 'however'. That this adversative particle was sometimes used in introducing a concessive idea is evident from *Fáfnir*. 36:

'Esat svá horskr	hildimeigr
Sem hers jafar	hyggja mundak,
ef bróður léttr	á braut komask,
en öðrum hefr	aldrs of synjat!

"No hero is so wise as I should think a hero to be, if he lets the brother get away, *altho* he has slain the other." The idea "if he lets the brother get away *but* has slain the other" is tantamount to a concessive idea, viz. "... *even if* he has slain the other".

The same is true of our passage in question. The idea "but there was no need" is tantamount to "altho there was no need": hence the subjunctive *vári*. Evidently the poet here made use of the older paratactical construction yet used the subjunctive characteristic of a dependent clause, cf. *H. Hjervs.* 39, *þót þetta sinn þorfgi vári*, "altho this time there was no need".

6) *Guðrunarkviða* 21

Hlaðiþ ér jarlar!	eikikesti,
látíþ und hilmi	hástan verða!

It is Guthrun who gives this command. The difficulty in this passage lies in the interpretation of the phrase *und hilmi*. The word *hilmi* can hardly refer to Sigurth, for, as *Detter and Heinzel* (II, p. 572) point out, it is not reasonable to suppose that Guthrun should call up Sigurth from the dead in order that he may be burned to death. But I do not think it necessary (in order that the passage may retain intelligent thought) to substitute for *und hilmi* the phrase *und himli* ('beneath heaven'), as *Detter and Heinzel* (*ibid.*) suggest.

I construe the word *hilmi* not as having reference to Sigurth but as used in a *generic* sense for *warrior*. I would translate the passage then: "Pile up, O jarls, the oaken pyre, let it be the highest 'neath a warrior, *i.e.* the highest that ever lay 'neath a warrior, the highest any warrior ever had".

7) *Reginsmál* 22

þat's et þriþja,	ef þjóta heyrir
ulf und asklimum:	
heilla auþit	verðr þer af hjálmstöfum
ef þú sér þá fyrri fara.	

"This is the third; if thou hearest a wolf howl 'neath the limbs of an ash-tree, fortune is given thee over thy foes if thou seest them first".

This is the third bit of advice which Hnikar (Othin) gives Sigurth. The difficulty in this passage lies in the use of the prepositional phrase *af hjálmstofum*. Concerning this phrase *Detter and Heinzel* (II, p. 407) remark: "Aber was die Prae-positionalformel *af hjálmstofum* bedeutet, ist unklar. Man erwartet den Begriff 'im Kampfe'. Vgl. die Phrase *bera (sigr) af e-m*."

Gering (*Glossar*³, 1907) translates (sub *af* 11) *bar Helgi af hildingum* (*H.H.*, II, 37) by "(er) überragte sie, eigtl. wol: trug von ihnen fort, schmälerte sie." I believe that the preposition *af* in the phrase *heilla* (gen. plur. collective) *af hjálmstofum* has the same force as in the passage quoted above, viz. 'away from'. 'Good fortune (taken) away from thine enemies' is equivalent in thought to 'victory over thine enemies'.

8) *Fáfnismál* 40

mey veitk eina	miklu fegrsta
golli góðda,	ef geta mætti.

"A maiden I know, by far the fairest, adorned with gold, if thou couldst get her."

The birds are here speaking to Sigurth. *Detter and Heinzel* (II, p. 421) call the phrase *ef geta mætti* an "uneigentlichen Conditionalsatz". I believe the nature of such a conditional clause becomes clear if we assume an ellipsis. For instance, here the thought is: "[This fair maiden will be yours], if you can get her", or in other words the birds by implication urge Sigurth on to woo Brynhild. Without assuming such an ellipsis the phrase is unintelligible, for whether Sigurth finds the maid or not, her beauty is thereby in no wise affected.

The idea that "a thing is good if one can get it" often occurs in the *Elder Edda*; cf., e.g., *Hvm.* 4 "góðs of þþis ef sér geta mætti" and *Hvm.* 68 "heilýndi sitt, ef maðr hafa naír."

Ellipses with conditional clauses, such as noted above, occur elsewhere in the *Elder Edda*. Such an ellipsis occurs in my opinion in the opening stanza of the *Gróungald*:

'Vaki þú, Groa! vaki þú, góð kona!
vekk þik dauðra dura:
ef þat mant, at þinn mög biðpir
til kumbldysjar koma.'

"Wake up Groa, wake up, good woman! I awaken thee at the doors of the dead: if thou dost remember that thou didst bid thy son come to the burial mound."

Groa had evidently told her son that whenever he was in trouble he should come to the burial mound and awaken her. The thought of the passage is then: "Thou wilt wake up, if thou dost remember thy word to me". The idea "thou wilt wake up" is not expressed; we have to supply it from the first two lines of the stanza.

9) *Fáfnismál* 24
margr es hvatr, es hjör né rýðr
annars brjóstum í.

"Many a man is brave who does not redden his sword in another's breast."

These are Regin's words after he has praised Sigurth as the bravest of all men for having slain Fafnir. I am inclined to believe that the sentiment which Regin here expresses is not of pagan origin but due to Christian influence.

Detter and Heinzel (II, p. 416) hold the former view, interpreting the passage as having reference to the courage demanded of men other than warriors, whose ways in life are fraught with danger, such as *huntsmen, sailors*, etc: "Der Dichter denkt vielleicht an kühne Jäger, Seefahrer, u.s.w." But the idea of bravery *as divorced from war* was not characteristic of the viking code of ethics. It seems to me that this unusual sentiment which Regin here expresses can best be explained as due to Christian influence, *i.e.* the idea of *moral* courage.

Detter and Heinzel (II, p. 435) assume Christian influence in strophe 22 of the *Sigrdrifumál* where Sigdrifa (Brynhild) gives Sigurth the following advice:

síðr þú hefnir, þót þeir sakar górví:
þat kveða dauðum duga.

"Take not revenge, altho they (thy kinsmen) do thee evil; for this, they say, thou wilt be rewarded after death." Similarly Christian influences may be detected in strophe 34 of the same poem (cf. *Detter and Heinzel*, II, p. 437), where Sigdrifa in discussing burial rites speaks of putting the dead into a *casket*:

kemba ok þerra, áþr í kistu fari.

If we may assume Christian influence in the *Sigrdrifumál* I see no reason why it may not be assumed in the *Fáfnismál*, for the two poems belong to the same cycle of lays and are probably of approximately the same date. It will be noted that no such sentiment as that expressed by Regin in the *Fáfnismál* occurs among the proverbs in the *Hávamál*, which were certainly all of pagan origin.

10) *Guðrunarkviða* III, 2

Tregi mik, Guðrún	Gjúka dóttir!
þats mér í hollu	Herkja sagði:
at it þjóþrekr	und þaki svæfþ
ok létliga	líni verþisk.

Atli here speaks; "It pains me, O Guthrun, daughter of Gjuki, to hear what Herkja told me in the hall, that Thjothrek and thou did sleep 'neath the covering and enjoy each other's love 'neath the linen."

The last line of this passage obviously expresses a euphemism for the enjoyment of illicit love. *Detter and Heinzel* (II, p. 508) refer us here to a similar euphemism in *Völkv.* 42:

Sqtuþ it Völundr saman í holmi.

But an exact parallel to this euphemism occurs in *Oddgr.* 5. When Oddrun asks who is responsible for Borgny's condition—she is with child—the maid in attendance answers:

'Vilmundr heitir	vinr høgstalda,
hann varþi mey	varmri bláju.'

Bláju verja is an exact parallel to the *líni verjask* of our passage: cf. also *Oddgr.* 23, 7-8, *þás breiddum vit bláju eina* and *Sgðkv.* *en skamma* 8, 7-8, *auk hana Sigurþr sveiþr í riþti*.

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REVIEWS

THE SONGS OF ENSIGN STÅL (*Fänrik Ståls Sägner*), National Military Song-Cycle of Finland. From the Swedish of Johan Ludvig Runeberg in the original meters. First complete English translation by Clement Burbank Shaw, A.M., Litt. D., Mus. D. With introduction and canto synopses. Illustrations by Malmström and Edelfelt. Foreword on The War in Finland, 1808-1809 by Lawrence F. Nordstrom, B.D. New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1925. Printed in Germany.

At last we have the opportunity to welcome the first complete English translation of Runeberg's best known masterpiece, *Fänrik Ståls Sägner*; and the rendering is by an American who is already well known for his translations of Tegnér's *Frithiofs Saga*, Wallin's *Dödens Ängel*, and a collection of Swedish lyric poetry.

Dr. Shaw's translation is published in a handsome de luxe edition of over three hundred pages, and besides all the elaborate editorial and illustrative equipment noted on the title-page, it contains also the music of nine of the songs, a map of Finland, and portraits of the author and the translator. The volume is a good example of German printing and book-making. According to the introduction, a number of Swedish-Americans have assisted in the translation with "valuable suggestions."

Mr. Shaw's task has been an unusually challenging and arduous one. In fact, we are prone to believe that the difficulty in translating this cycle of poems is one of the chief reasons why no translator has ever finished the whole series. Charles Wharton Stork, who has done so much to spread Swedish literature in English dress, has with great success done three of the songs into English, including the immortal *Sven Duva* (see *Anthology of Swedish Lyrics* published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation), and the reviewer suspects that Mr. Stork will some day make a translation of the remaining poems. The late Professor Calvin Thomas translated several of the songs of Ensign Stål, though these have never been published; and in 1907 Isabel Donner published in Helsingfors "A Selection from the Series of Poems Entitled Ensign Stål's Songs," seventeen in number. Others have translated detached cantos.

Runeberg's epic, dealing as it does, also, with a definite historical background which has more of a purely local interest and significance than *Frithiofs Saga*, for example, and lacking the more universally appealing, all-absorbing love romance, can hardly win the popularity abroad, in a foreign tongue, that Tegnér's work has done. After all, only Swedes and Finns have been very seriously interested in the descriptions of the war which forms the setting of Ensign Stål's narrations. And there is no plot or story in the ordinary sense, which binds the poems together and compels the reader to read on. The only bonds of unity between the songs are the common background and the common goal for which all Finns are fighting. So another reason why no complete English translation has hitherto appeared is the obviously local character of

the events and people portrayed and the lack of a connecting romance. Says Shaw in his Introductory: "While the twenty-four Cantos of *Frithiof's Saga*, each in its own metrical and strophic form, constitute a connected hero-song, the thirty-five cantos of the present work are wholly detached, each complete in itself, and delineative of episodes having no connection, except incidentally, with each other. It would be difficult to weave so many characters into one Romance."

And yet the American translator sees a universal element in Runeberg's cycle:

All poems are great as they speak to our own hearts. This is perhaps a poem's apology for existence. It seems to me Runeberg's Sägner are tangent at enough points to the world-thought to bridge over the chasm of language, race, time and place, and show that heroism, chivalry, codes of honor, depth of thoughts and feelings, are international and universal. His characters radiate the atmosphere of living subjects, and with them he makes us acquainted.

Nor will a foreigner have any difficulty in understanding the songs. "In the greater number of the cantos," Shaw continues, "there is required no preparatory study on the part of the reader. The great common mind understands them at once,—whether they be comedies or tragedies,—whether they are set forth in the lyric or epic strain. And freedom from frothy verbiage is imperative, if one would portray the national Finnish character in its blunt simplicity, its silent calmness, its laconic and sententious utterances."

Mr. Shaw devotes considerable space to a discussion of Runeberg's language and verse and the difficulties of rendering them into English. He writes: "Runeberg is mighty in his charming simplicity. Always the simplest words prevail. The labor of translating is thus greatly augmented. Rather than elaborate, he even repeats the same monosyllabic word or words—the same plain thought. No mental exhaustion results from the attempt to enucleate this meaning. No interminable periods exasperate the reader's patience"

Runeberg's language is so simple (often monosyllabic) that a corresponding simplicity in translation often becomes incompatible with the demands of rhythm and rhyme; and to this consideration must be added the fact that many of the songs embody localisms and expressions pertaining to certain stations in life, where the lofty epic style, which must be maintained throughout *Frithiof's Saga*, would not here be at all in keeping. And as our English two-syllable rhymes are so sparse, a true translation of a poem like *Munter*, where every line must end with such a rhyme, becomes possible only in so far as our language will permit it"

Many of the Sägner are highly poetic in matter and loftily classic in treatment. In Canto Third, *The Cloud's Brother*, we constantly discern the Homeric and Virgilian touch. Elaborate in its finesse, and stately in its development, its similes are the re-incarnation of the long slumbering Southern epic, and speak to us over the chasm of thousands of years."

The translator fears that one who knows a foreign poem in the original is, "*ceteris paribus*, predisposed to judge it adversely, since he can not divest his

ear of the sound of the old, etc." True enough! But the translation is made of course for those who do *not* know the sound of the original, and, in the case in question, the number of such readers in America is, after all, disgracefully large, even among those who by a cultural inheritance should be especially interested in the cycle of Fänrik Stål. Only *Vårt Land* and *Sven Duva* seem to be tolerably well known and remembered, though only the other day the reviewer met a cultured Swedish-American teacher who had never heard of Sven Duva. The translator needs have little fear, it seems, of any frequent or disastrous comparison of his work with the Swedish original. Now for the translation itself.

Mr. Shaw has done a creditable piece of work. Parts are very well done, and, academically speaking, we may call certain portions excellent. As English verse, all cantos do not read equally smooth, of course,—certain meters have given more trouble than others—and the privileges of poetic license have had to be utilized to the utmost. Frequent use is made of "do" and "did" as auxiliary verb-forms, both in emphatic expressions and elsewhere, for the sake of the meter apparently; and the inverted verb-order is resorted to, even when there seems to be no special reason for it. "Soon had lost the foe his powers" (p. 95 in *Otto von Fiant*) had certainly better be "Soon the foe had lost his powers." Why this disturbing inversion? The normal order, to me at least, appears infinitely simpler and therefore better. Often, also, a noun is immediately followed by a pronoun referring to it. For example:

And his eye *it* was calm and his brain *it* was clear (p. 102).

Without presuming to be a poet, the reviewer can not help but regard such a line as forced verse. Could not some other form of inauspicious padding be introduced? In *Sven Dufva*¹, for instance, the same license is taken on page 75:

And he battled like a man; the struggle *it* was done.

The last part is a literal reproduction of the Swedish . . . "och striden, den var slut." I feel that this is a pure Sveacism. Why not say simply: "the struggle now was done (or o'er)? It is *natural* simplicity that we are after. Dr. Shaw is not quite sure either whether "bayonet" should be disyllabic or trisyllabic, hence a halting in the reading on pages 70 and 71. Vocative expressions like "Sir Pastor", "Sir General", "Sir Major" are employed throughout. These are permissible, I believe, especially in poetic writing, but there is no necessity for the capitalization when such an expression comes in the middle of a line. On page 133, 1.9, the iambic "To wit:" would be better than the trochaic "namely." A strange use of "wear" is found on page 257. The old baggage driver Spelt's nose

Soot from his own fire-place . . . was wearing,

the latter word being employed to rhyme with "bearing." "Keep . . . time" is used on page 249, last line, in a most peculiar sense. Says von Essen to his stable groom, who is late in bringing up his saddle horse:

¹ Shaw uses the old spelling.

Du känner, när jag vill rida,
du vet, när timmen är full.

which Shaw renders with

You well know my hour of riding,
You know when *my time* you must *keep*!

Certainly there is room for improvement here, an improvement, incidentally, of which Mr. Shaw is fully capable.

In his strenuous efforts to keep as close to the Swedish idiom as possible, Mr. Shaw has at times become a real Swedish-American and has reproduced at least one Swedish idiom with absolute literalness. Take the following line from *Gamle Lode*:

mången kämpar bet i gräset, which, on page 199, has become
many a man the grass was biting,

the translator forgetting that in this case we have a perfectly good English idiom for exactly the same meaning, namely, "to bite the dust" or "bite the ground". An error of this kind should have been avoided.

One of my wide-awake students in Swedish literature, Nils Gösta Sahlin, has called my attention to a mistranslation in *Munter*. (It happens that my class in Swedish is just now reading *Fänrik Ståls Sägner*). In the eleventh stanza, in the tale of Munter's flogging, we have these words:

Väbeln sade: 'tag ej illa,
Så är tjänsten, gubbe lilla!
Har du mjuknat nu till början?'
'Jo', sad' Munter, 'tack för smörjan!'

Shaw translates:

Said the Sergeant: 'Take it tender,
Old man;—we must service render!
Have you softened in the boiling!'
'Yea,' said Munter, 'Thanks for oiling!'

Here "tjänsten" does not mean service in general, of course, but *the* service, meaning specifically *military* service, as it does in English often. A free translation would be something like this: "Don't be offended, old man, for such is a soldier's life," or "such is life in (the) service, old boy!" As for the word "smörjan", we have here a pun on the words "smörj", a licking, and "smörja", 'oil, grease, trash, or rubbish.' This is very difficult to reproduce in English of course, but I am wondering whether the American reader who does not know the original will get the impression, on first reading, from "Thanks for oiling!" that Munter is in a soldier's laconic way expressing gratitude for the flogging he received. Naturally, however, the context, when reading the whole poem, helps to convey the meaning of a troublesome passage like this one, so that my criticism and concern may not be well founded.

Considering the difficulties of proof-reading, the volume having been printed abroad, the translation is surprisingly free from misprints. In addition to

those noted in the Errata, I have noticed the following: p. 12, "couldhave" for "could have"; p. 67, "Jusus" for "Jesus"; p. 121, "VIX" for "XIV"; p. 68, "contemptuous" for "contemptuous" or "contempt'ous"; p. 149, the quotation marks in the sixth and seventh lines of the first stanza should be single; p. 198, "LODF" for "LODE"; and p. 199, fifth line from the bottom, "hish ead" for "his head." If there are other misprints, the reviewer has failed to detect them.

I have penned this rather lengthy notice of Shaw's translation, because I believe that it deserves it; I should not have bothered extensively with a careless one. Mr. Shaw is worthy of all encouragement; he is entitled to much credit for his pioneer work. My critical remarks, will, I know, be accepted by the translator in the same kindly spirit that they are given. It is the reviewer's hope and presumption that some of them may be of value in the second edition, which the translation will undoubtedly soon have. As I again turn over the pages of Shaw's book, I find several cantos which I, at the time of reading, marked "good translation" or "very good translation". Such are: *The Cloud's Brother*, III; *Kulneff*, XIV; *Sveaborg*, XVII; *The Soldier Boy*, XIX; *The Ensign's Greeting*, XXV; and *Von Törne*, XXVI. The following familiar stanzas from *Sven Dufva*, too, show the better side of Shaw's ability as a translator, and will serve as a fitting finale to this review:

Sven Dufva up to manhood grew, broad-shouldered, strong and sound,
And in the field worked like a slave, cleared woods, and broke the ground,
Was far more willing, glad and kind than scores whose minds were strong,
And could be made to do all things, but always did them wrong.

'In Jesus's name, thou wretched son, what will become of you?'
Exclaimed the old man many times, now puzzled through and through.
But wearied of this endless strain, Sven lost his patient mood,
And for himself began to think as best he understood.

When therefore Sergeant Dufva came one pleasant day again,
And twittered in his old-time tone, 'What will you be, O Sven?'
The old man, to retort unused, stood blank at the reply,
When Sven unclosed his ample beak and said, 'A soldier, I!'

ADOLPH B. BENSON

Yale University

JOHANNES SKAR. *Gamalt or Sætesdalen*. Ny auka utgave.
Det norske samlaget, Oslo, 1926.

For years it has been almost impossible to secure a complete set of *Gamalt or Sætesdalen* as the first volume has been out of print. It is, therefore, gratifying that *Det Norske Samlaget* has found it possible to supply the want. *Gamalt or Sætesdalen* is perhaps the most significant portrayal of the daily life, customs, ideals, and traditions of any section of Norway. It is not primarily a scholarly work on folklore, but aims rather to give an appreciation of the culture of the community and its close contact with the traditions of the past. For sixteen years Johannes Skar lived in Sætesdalen and with the Sætesdølings, absorbing

their language, their ways, and training himself in the art of reproducing the intimate spirit and essence of their culture; and the eight volumes, published from 1901 on, incorporate the results of his life's most absorbing interest.

The first volume is devoted largely to the life of Sætedalen during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. A long chapter is devoted to the religious revival inspired by the followers of Hauge. The other chapters are devoted to more or less biographical sketches of prominent farmers, fighters, and fiddlers,—particularly the fiddlers. Later volumes treat of historical traditions, myths and legends, customs and superstitions, folktales and flytings.

The new edition of volume one has an introductory chapter by Professor Liestøl giving a short sketch of Skar's life and methods of work. He stresses rightly the vast importance of Skar's publications to the scientific investigator. Skar is accurate, and he usually gives his source of information. Where his published works do not furnish the necessary data, they are usually supplied by his manuscript records now deposited in the archives of the Norwegian Institute of Folklore. As an illustration of the importance of the material Professor Liestøl cites the significant use made of it by Magnus Olsen in his interpretation of the inscription of the now famous Eggjum rune stone found in Sogn. Modesty possibly kept Liestøl from citing the even more significant use made of Skar's material in his own volume *Norske Ættesogor*.¹

Of all Norwegian communities Sætedalen is the most conservative. There mediæval traditions were kept alive longest, there the ballads have been best preserved, and there the old custom of flyting has lived on to our day. No one at all interested in Norwegian folklore or in the culture of the Norwegian peasants can afford to ignore Skar's collections. And though the dialect may hamper some readers, the copious footnotes remove the principal difficulties.

HENNING LARSEN

Iowa City, Iowa

¹ Reviewed *Scand. Stud. and Notes*, Vol. VIII, p. 252

ANNOUNCEMENT

The American Historical Association is seeking an endowment fund of a million dollars primarily for the purpose of assisting historians to produce and publish contributions to knowledge. The income from the fund will be used principally in small grants to persons who have passed the stage of graduate students and who are devoting their lives to research and writing. One of the purposes in view is the investigation of problems connected with the later stages of immigration and the appraisal of the influence of the various races that have contributed to the American stock. The continuous mingling of such stocks, each with its own character, makes this field of investigation very interesting, and also very complex, for the student. But it is a subject that cannot be ignored, and the encouragement of it may well engage attention. The Association hopes to establish a number of small annual grants for the study of such race influences, and it is proposed that some of them shall be named in honor of distinguished Americans.

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EDITOR



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By **VERNER VON HEIDENSTAM**

Translated by Charles Wharton Stork

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RÖLVAAG'S NOVELS OF NORWEGIAN PIONEER LIFE IN THE DAKOTAS

The purpose of this paper is to call the attention of our members not of Norwegian blood, to a Norwegian-American novelist—a member of our Society—who has recently won recognition and distinction at the hands of keen critics in the mother country. He is proclaimed by them as a competent portrayrer of Norwegian pioneer life in the Dakotas. Possibly these critics may not be in a position to speak of the competency of an author to handle the life and scenes of a region with which they have but slight acquaintance. But they surely are competent to pass judgment on his ability to write a novel in modern Norwegian. This they have done. And it is a fact for congratulation among us. For it surely is a matter of significance in the history of our intellectual and artistic development, if we have really produced an adequate portrayrer in fiction of any phase or phases of our life as pioneers in this country. It seems to me, therefore, that it is an event of which this Society may well speak a word of recognition.

Now it is possible that the generous treatment Rölvaag's two last books received in Norway during the year 1925, when the second volume was published—the first having been issued the preceding year—may be due in part to the wave of enthusiasm for the Norwegians in America that swept over Norway during the centennial year of our immigration. As we all know, our kindred in the mother country tried last year in every way to express their admiration of our achievements in various fields of endeavor in this country. At any rate, the centennial spirit may have colored and intensified their expressions of appreciation. But we may nevertheless feel absolutely certain that their comments on the literary work of a single individual would not be as laudatory as they have been, unless it bore distinct evidence of either artistic merit or historical significance.

The names of the first group of Norwegian novelists—Björnson, Lie, Kielland, and Garborg,—are representative of the realistic period in modern Norwegian literature, which may be said to end with the early 90's or thereabouts. They are familiar

to us, and we know something of their distinguished achievements in the service of Mother Norway.

These are the authors best known to the literary workers among us, and ought, under normal conditions, to have served as models and masters in portraying men and women of Norwegian blood.

But conditions in any immigrant community are not normal, and they are sure to be different from those of the homeland. Immigrant interests are not conducive to literary productivity. Pioneering is not a begetter of literary art on any large or significant scale.

But genius is hard to suppress, and if one appears in an age of pioneering, he *will* write, even though tragedy be his reward. So the cultivation of literature among pioneers is not only a question of writers, but also a question of readers, and perhaps, sympathizers. Lacking these there will be stifling discouragement. Not all can successfully buffet the waves of adversity, as Ibsen, Björnson, Lie and Garborg in Norway did.

I need not rehearse the struggles of some of our Norwegian-American novelists, whose title to distinction may be questionable, but shall confine myself on this occasion to the case of Professor Rølvaag, who has won fame abroad for his immigrant novels, published in the mother country, which we have noted as a signal compliment, that ought to lead to greater achievement, if the good will of his American kindred be not lacking.

In a paper on "Literature and the Press" among our Norwegian people, published some time ago, I said that the chief literary form among the descendants of the pioneers will doubtless be the novel, though verse at first prevailed. Several important novels, among them Martha Ostenso's, have appeared since to strengthen that opinion. The paper said of Professor Rølvaag: "He knows Norway, Norwegian history and literature, has experienced the heart-aches and hardships of pioneer life on the prairies, is familiar as both student and professor with college life and the life of the church, is in close contact with the press, and has solid qualifications for taking a leading part in the new literary movement. He knows what the Norwegian pioneer has done for America, and the price he has paid

in doing it. He understands the possibilities of this land of opportunity for the grandchildren of the pioneer—and the tragedies that have made these opportunities possible. This author has already won distinct favor, *and much is expected of him.*" This was my opinion in 1921.

It is a pleasure to note that that expectation has been realized through the publication of his double novel of Norwegian pioneer life in the Dakotas. The first part is entitled "*I de dage*" ("In Those Days"), published in 1924. The title is obtained from a biblical passage which says:

Kjæmper var paa jorden *i de dage*,
... de vældige, de fra fordums tid.

The second part bears the sub-title of "*Riket grundlægges*," ("Founding the Kingdom"), and appeared in 1925. It is a continuation of the first, with the same characters; both would doubtless have appeared together, between the same covers, but for the fear that the price would limit the sale. So it was evidently decided to publish a first volume, with the hope that it would whet the appetite for the continuation. And this supposed hope has been fully realized.

The copy that I possess of the first part is marked the 9th edition (9.tusen), with the date 1924. Whether any new edition has appeared since, I do not know.

Of the second part, my copy is of the 6th thousand, and I have learned that in December last the 9th thousand was issued from the press. That is a remarkable record for Norwegian-American authorship. Martha Ostenso's book surpasses that record enormously, but it appeals to an entirely different public, namely an English-reading public, and under unusual circumstances.

The significant thing in Rølvaag's case is that his book has passed muster with Norwegian critics and Norwegian readers in the homeland. How Martha Ostenso's book will fare with the reading public in Norway remains to be seen. I should judge that it will not fare so well, for the reason that Rølvaag's book relates to things Norwegian. It is, moreover, a child of Norwegian literary tradition, while Miss Ostenso's Norwegian inheritance is that of blood alone, so far as I know.

Professor Rølvaag was born in northern Norway, came here as a youth, and completed his education at St. Olaf College. His novels, and particularly the one under consideration, bear the distinct impress of the great Norwegian novelists, with such limitations as his experience and Norwegian-American environment impose. In his last novels, the careful reader will find, I think, reflections, if not echoes, of the early idyllic romanticism of Björnson's peasant novels, both linguistic and artistic, as well as suggestions of the rugged style and a faint, though hazardous, suggestion of the blunt speech of his realistic pen. I know well enough that it is usually most difficult to trace the influences that an author has been under. It is something to be felt, and cannot always be satisfactorily demonstrated. It surely is significant that Norwegian critics and the press have treated Rølvaag as generously as if he were a successful novelist of their own. And that means that he is not a crude beginner, but a mature artist. That is highly complimentary. And it means, furthermore, that his Norwegian language seemingly presents no offensive dissonances to their sensitive ears. That is remarkable.

And now let me hasten on to give some idea of what Rølvaag has undertaken to present.

A novel is first and foremost a story, and Rølvaag's book is the story or saga of the Dakota prairies as our Norwegian pioneers came to know them, during the early period of settlement. It does not need many characters to present that saga, for a few may well represent the main features,—the essence of the experience of thousands. For a novel of our pioneers may, if well done, present the history of our pioneers in a nutshell. It will be history which never happened quite as it is presented, but which is essentially true nevertheless.

Rølvaag's books are therefore not an account of our first coming to this country. His characters are of the 70's and early 80's, who break away from an older settlement in southeastern Minnesota, and set out for the boundless prairies about whose fertile soil wondrous tales had been told. The story, in the second part, reaches into the days of the great winter of blizzards in the year 1880-81.

Thus the two parts of the work, under the general heading: *In Those Days*, cover a comparatively brief space of time. As the title of the second part indicates, *Riket grundlægges*, the work deals only with the *beginning* of things—the founding of a settlement. Whether other volumes will follow, remains to be seen. They *ought* to be forthcoming, if the pioneering period, with subsequent development, is to have anything like completeness,—but there are obstacles and difficulties for a Norwegian-American novelist, as we shall see.

At any rate, Rølvaag's novel has made a satisfying beginning of a saga of Norwegian pioneers who have transformed the prairies of the Dakotas into a region fit for human habitation—which it hardly seemed to be when the pioneers first came. For to some of them the spirit of the prairies seemed a monster, ready to devour them. Rølvaag has seen and felt the tragic aspects of this epoch. He personally experienced it. He knows that immigration is always tragic. It is the price the pioneer pays for the future welfare of his children. And hence his story is impressively tragic—more tragic than if it had dealt with the early Norwegian settlements in Illinois or Wisconsin, although these settlements, too, had their tragedies,—cholera and the Civil War.

But despite the tragic phases of this pioneer life, Rølvaag's books are not gloomy. The pages fairly scintillate with humor and kindliness.

The story of the first volume is a very simple one, and tells the trials and tribulations, and the simple joys and victories of a small group of settlers—eight adults, and four children. Two of the adults—bachelors—were born in this country, two had lived in Minnesota for some years, had accumulated some means, and knew the language of the country, and two—man and wife with three children,—are new comers, who have spent some months in Fillmore County, Minnesota, and whose means are limited. These two become the leading characters of the story. They are Per Hansa and his wife Béret.

The story opens with just a touch of the glamour of the prairie on a sunny day in May, 1873, as they enter the Dakotas, after the long trek across southern Minnesota. Per Hansa's

ramshackle prairie schooner has broken down. This causes a delay for repairs. The others are willing to wait for him, but Per Hansa insists on their going on, feeling sure that he will have no difficulty in following their trail. But he has difficulties enough, and thus the reader gets a detailed account of the trials and anxieties of the pioneer, trekking across the trackless prairie with an ox-team. Per was the only one of the group who did not have horses. He was too poor for that; but he has ability, energy, and initiative, and soon becomes the leader of the little group.

Land had been previously selected by the bachelors of the party, so that they knew where they were going. The Indian massacres of the previous decade in Minnesota had been quelled; but many of the pioneers had heard of the depredations of the Indians, and lived in constant fear of them. Our story gives an appealing account of an experience with them, and shows how Per Hansa made them his friends, through kindness in an hour of distress. An Indian chief is suffering with a swollen hand and arm that look serious to Per Hansa, an experienced fisherman from Nordland, accustomed to grappling with such an emergency. He takes the chief in hand, and, as he believes, saves his life. A little later the chief gives Per Hansa a pony for his service, and thus a fine and profitable relationship is established.

Now a large part of this first volume is devoted to a detailed and realistic account of the everyday life of this small group of Nordland stock,—their solidarity in days of loneliness and uncertainty, their courage, their kindness, and helpfulness in the struggle for very existence.

It would be a difficult task to give an epitome of these daily struggles, and it would be unnecessary, for most of us know from experience or from oft-told tales something of the pioneer life on the prairies. These details are presumably meant primarily for readers in the homeland, that they may get an impressive and convincing picture of pioneer life in the great Northwest,—a picture that surely will teach respect for the brave souls of Norwegian blood who helped to conquer the prairies, and forced them into the service of humanity.

That great conquest and achievement have cost human lives—human tragedies. Both the conquest and the tragic cost of it are typified in the lives of Per Hansa and his wife Bérét. Despite their great love for each other, they cannot agree on the important question of attempting so rash a thing as the conquest of the prairies.

Per Hansa is a fine pioneer. He plows and sows, reaps and builds with the ardor of a hopeful lover. He worships the latent mysteries of the prairie soil. His toil is an adventure. It has all the elements of romance. He rejoices in it and waxes strong. But it takes a heart of oak and sinews of steel to cope with the moods and forces of nature that surround him. But he glories in the combat.

There are those, however, who cannot stand the strain. Where there is play and clash of mighty forces, the weak will cower and falter. And for those who lack nerves of steel, and who have come from the land of fjords and mountains, the change to the prairies—the land of great open spaces and of brooding silence—tragedy is ever a menace.

Per Hansa's wife is the one in the story who is not so constituted and equipped as to stand the strain of such things. She typifies the hopeless struggle of the weak with the spirit of the prairie, not only in its angry moods, but also in its immensity, its boundlessness, and its great silences. These things appall her, unnerve her, crush her courage, and derange her mind. Here lies Per Hansa's greatest problem. Her fate hovers before the reader throughout the whole story; and even at the end of the second book we are left in uncertainty, though we learn, at the very end, of the tragic fate of her husband, Per Hansa, whom, in her insane insistence, she drives out into a fierce snow storm to fetch a minister, not a doctor, for a dying neighbor, Per Hansa's friend, Hans Olsa.

The first volume, too, seemed likely to end in dire tragedy, with the wife as a central figure. The Christmas of the first year on the prairies was drawing near. The wife was an expectant mother, and all manner of gloomy thoughts had filled her mind for months. She had forebodings of certain death.

She had even planned to be buried in the old Norwegian chest, as these was no lumber for a coffin.

But the author ingeniously turns the advent of the child on Christmas morning into a source of rejoicing and merry-making for the whole little band of pioneers, who had all been wrought up to a high pitch of anxiety over the distraught mother. Two warm-hearted and capable women of the little colony, however, snatch both mother and child from the clutches of death.

Rölvaag's handling of this episode in the life of Per Hansa and wife Béret, reveals his ability as a novelist, his powers of characterization, his dramatic instinct, his sense of artistic values, his storytelling qualifications; and they also reveal the author's all-embracing human sympathy. This scene will make an appeal to any heart that has not been seared and blighted by human wickedness and degradation.

The second volume has much more to tell of the wife Béret, and the reader hopes that the Christmas child will prove an anodyne to her troubled soul; but it is not until an itinerant minister appears on the scene that any betterment comes. Informed by the anxious husband as to her state of mind, the kindly minister is able to raise her out of her gloom. But then follows a fanatical mood of religious brooding, which, as already indicated, causes the death of the husband.

The author brings the second volume to a close by relating the finding of the husband's dead body in the spring, with skis strapped to his back, resting against a hay-stack. But there is no hint concerning the ultimate fate of the mother. This *seems* to be reserved for a third volume in the saga of the prairies.

Meanwhile, during the interval between the end of the first volume and the close of the second—an interval of eight or ten years—the settlement has been progressing. A school had been begun,—primitive enough,—the township organized, and a congregation had been formed after later comers had joined the colony. In a word: steps had been taken to meet the political, intellectual and spiritual needs of the settlement. The foundations had been laid.

In regard to the further content of this second volume, reference should be made to two episodes: the blizzard of the

early 80's, which is most vividly, realistically, and effectively described. It is an account of an expedition made by three of the men to a settlement a few miles farther east for fuel.

Equally effective is an account of the coming of the grasshoppers, which caused such devastation during several years in the 70's.

In both of these episodes, Rölvaag, in my opinion, shows real power. In effectively handling these tremendous catastrophes he proves himself a master.

These books, or rather, this story of a decade of Norwegian-American life, then, show that there has sprung up in our midst a man competent to write the saga of our pioneer life in the form of fiction. And, in my opinion, he is also equipped—and better than any other among us—to portray later chapters of our life and achievements in all its essential phases, whether material, intellectual, political, or ecclesiastical. But the question arises: Will he find the necessary encouragement to go on with the story? It may be questionable whether Norwegian publishers will continue to issue books written by a Norwegian-American, if their present interest is due to the spirit of our centennial. Their interest is likely to wane. Ours, on the other hand, should increase. But here's the rub. Rölvaag is a member of the faculty of a church college. Our people are largely orthodox Lutherans, only slightly interested, as is to be expected, in things literary; and their church leaders are extremely sensitive in regard to the substance and the language of a literary work. The novelist who undertakes to write of our rough and ready pioneers cannot be guided too rigidly by puritanical precepts. If he is an artist, he must write as his spirit dictates. That Rölvaag has done, and he has done it prudently,—as prudently as his artistic temperament would permit; but his books are likely to give offence nevertheless, despite the sincere deference paid to the religious phase of pioneering. For the puritanical conscience will brook no lapses in either act or speech.

And now a few paragraphs from the pen of one of Norway's ablest writers, Mr. Hambro, until recently the editor of Norway's oldest and largest daily, and a man familiar with our life in America. He says:

The material at hand is massive; and Rølvaag has understood its greatness; his book gives the impression of largeness and amplitude,—amplitude in all respects, without any barriers to the imagination, and hence a danger to the author of losing his foothold in the realm of reality.

After the reading of *Riket grundlægges*, one will be able more easily to comprehend the necessary and natural, but slow and difficult transition from Norwegian to Norwegian-American. And one will also understand Per Hansa's words when he says that it is not given to every man to stand America.

What Rølvaag has done in his book cannot be esteemed too highly. It leads one also to understand what material has been lost—the remarkable fifty years which precede "In Those Days"—the period of Kleng Peerson, Elling Eielson, and Koren, and of the Civil War, and the settlement of Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Perhaps some novelist may yet be able to reanimate this epoch. But haste is imperative.

Rølvaag has pointed the way. Perhaps his excellent novel will give the literary potentialities in Norwegian-America a magic touch.

May I, in closing, add a paragraph by a Danish author (Jørgen Bukdahl), who, in 1924, published a large work on Norwegian literary art, and who knows modern Norwegian literature better than any other Dane of the present time:

Of Norwegians in the homeland, dreaming of adventure, he says:

Adventure, romance, had vanished from their own wild mountains. It lay gleaming and beckoning in a foreign land. A name—America—grew in their minds like a consuming flame. It burned off the roots that bound them to the old home. The new adventure called, and the cotters set out.

The prairie took them in, and they began the greatest pursuit of life,—namely to take root, and transform a dream of adventure into reality.

On this difficult pursuit, O. E. Rølvaag has written his greatly significant novel "In Those Days," and the continuation entitled "Founding the Kingdom." And with these books, Rølvaag has won a place among the first writers of Norway.

These words are particularly significant,* as the critic is under no patriotic compulsion to be complimentary. And he goes on to say:

* Since this paper was written, the following information has come to hand:

A new edition of Professor Rølvaag's two volumes will be issued by the Norwegian publishers in the autumn, and authorized Swedish and Finnish

As I close the book, a thought comes to my mind: Here [in Denmark], we haggle and contend concerning philosophies of life, and the conquest of reality. Here we write books fraught with Eros, golden and gray—while these emigrants are founding a kingdom where before there was a desolate prairie,—transforming their dreams into reality, while we, to the best of our ability, do the very opposite.

I wish this book into the hands of our Danish youth.

JULIUS E. OLSON

University of Wisconsin.

translations of both volumes will appear simultaneously in Finland in the near future.

Some time during the winter, Harpers of New York manifested an interest in these novels, and asked for the privilege of a first examination, in case a translation should be made. Two weeks ago a translation of the first volume was submitted. And on Tuesday of this week the following telegram was received by the author:

"Glad to publish. Strongly advise publishing both volumes at once. Full effect lost otherwise."

This is, indeed, cause for congratulations, as it marks a definite step forward in the history of Norwegian-American literature in America.

ÄGIR AND THE MAGIC SHIP ELLIDA IN
TEGNÉR'S "FRITHIOFSSAGA."

In the canto *Frithiof tager arf efter sin fader* of Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga* we are told how the ship Ellida came into the possession of Frithiof's family. Frithiof inherited the ship from his grandfather Viking. Viking had rescued a ship-wrecked man and had taken him home and treated him with kind hospitality. The ship-wrecked man proved to be the god Ägir in disguise, who in return for the hospitality afforded him bestowed upon Viking a marvelous gift, the magic ship Ellida. The next day after Ägir left, Viking saw this wonderful ship without helmsman or sailor making its way thru the skerries, and finally coming to anchor of its own accord. Then the waves sang: "Ägir, rescued from ship-wreck, forgets not his debt, he gives thee the dragon-ship."¹ Thus did Frithiof inherit this marvelous ship which ever afterwards proved to be his faithful and intelligent companion.

The original *Frithiofssaga* has nothing corresponding to this episode concerning the god Ägir, nor does it bestow any such magical properties upon the ship Ellida, as Tegnér here describes. In the original saga (chaps. I,II) the ship is described merely as extraordinarily large and strong, and as the best of all the treasures which Frithiof had inherited. Later on, however, (chap. VI) Ellida is endowed with human intelligence and obeys her master's voice.

It is clear, therefore, that Tegnér has here adorned his tale with Romantic elements in keeping with the supernatural atmosphere of these stories about the ancient heirlooms of his hero. *Angurvadel*, the magic sword, thus finds a counterpart in *Ellida*, the magic ship. But while *Angurvadel* is connected with monsters and trolls, *Ellida* is connected with the benign aspects of the sea which the viking Frithiof loved so well. This little story, then, about the god Ägir who recognizes the generosity of Viking, one of the sons of the sea, is peculiarly fitting in connection with Frithiof's character as a viking.

¹ "Bergade Ägir ej glömmet sin skuld, han skänker dig draken."

Here Tegnér shows the same artistic appreciation of the sea as in the canto *Frithiof på hafvet*.

Altho the story about Ellida is Tegnér's own invention, pure and simple, we may be justified in assuming that he received his inspiration from some mythological source.

Turning to Old Norse literature we find many instances of a god's (notably Odin's) visiting the Earth in disguise, as was the case with Tegnér's Ägir. Sometimes too the Old Norse divinity, thus disguised, dispenses justice among mortals according to their works. One most noteworthy example of this is found in the *Grímnismál* ("The Lay of the Disguised One"). Here Odin-Grímnir visits the Earth for the express purpose of testing the character of his foster-son, King Geirrøðr, whom Frigg has accused of inhospitality ("Hann er matníðingr"). After having been tortured between two fires by the cruel king, Odin finally throws off his disguise and causes the wicked king's death, at the same time rewarding the king's son Agnar for his mercy and kindness. It will be noted too that Odin (disguised as a peasant, *Karl*) had given shelter to Geirrøðr when the latter had suffered shipwreck and at Geirrøðr's departure Odin had presented him with a ship (features which are paralleled in Tegnér's story except that in the Old Norse lay it is the god who rescues the man, whereas the relation is vice versa with Tegnér). The motif of the god in disguise who rewards mortals according to their works was, therefore, not lacking in Old Norse literature.

It is, of course, impossible to determine just how far Tegnér in his conception of the story about Ellida was influenced by the motif in the *Grímnismál*. But it seems to me extremely improbable that the Old Norse lay served to any considerable degree as the source of the poet's inspiration, first because the motif in the Old Norse lay has reference to *punishment* for *ingratitude* rather than *reward* for *kindliness*,—the whole lay is, in fact, a revelation of the *frightful* character of Odin² (Yggr) rather than the benign expression of divine justice,—and secondly because the motif of the god's rewarding virtue for

² Cf. K. Müllenhoff, *D. A.*, V, p. 159, who says with regard to the *Grímnismál*: "Eine offenbarung Oðins in seiner ganzen herlichkeit und furchtbarkeit."

its own sake is more clearly reflected in classical literature, which was much nearer to Tegnér's heart and much more easily accessible to him than were the myths of the *Elder Edda*.

We must first of all recognize the fact that Tegnér's Ägir is the Old Norse divinity only in name, for the poet's description of this god clearly indicates that he had in mind not so much the Old Norse sea-god as the classical sea-god Poseidon-Neptune.³ When we realize this fact, viz., that Tegnér has here represented the classical divinity Poseidon-Neptune in the guise of the Old Norse Ägir and that furthermore this whole canto with its heroic hexameter reflects the idyllic atmosphere of Homer's *Iliad*, we are justified in assuming that Tegnér in writing the story of Ägir and the ship Ellida may have received his inspiration from some classical source. This is all the more plausible when we remember that in the same canto the description of the arm-ring with its wonderful engravings reflects the spirit of the *Iliad* (Book 18) where the shield of Achilles, the greatest of Greek heroes, is similarly described. Both the shield and the arm-ring are wrought by the smithy (Hephaestus-Vaulund) of the gods and upon both treasures are engraven scenes from the life of the gods and of men.

Turning to Greek mythology, we find precisely this same motif (viz., a god visits the Earth in disguise in order to test the hospitality of mortals) preserved in the legend of *Philemon and Baucis*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VIII. Jupiter is here represented as a kindly and just divinity who rewards mortals according to their works. He voluntarily disguises himself as a poor and weary traveler. The old couple receive him kindly and grant him all the rights of hospitality. Thereupon, Jupiter throws off his disguise and bestows upon his benefactors miraculous gifts, such as no mortal could create.

Now, these main features are preserved in Tegnér's account of Ägir and Frithiof's grandfather, Viking. The god Ägir assumes the role of a person in distress, he puts the hospitality of a mortal to test, and then throwing off his disguise,⁴ he presents his benefactor with a supernatural gift:

³ Cf. my article "Oehlenschläger and Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga*," *Scan. Studies and Notes*, VI, p. 142.

Bergade Ägir ej glömmar sin skuld, han skänker dig draken.

That Ägir puts the hospitality of Viking to test is not expressed in so many words, but we may infer that this was Ägir's purpose, otherwise the fact that the god assumes the role of one in distress would be inexplicable.

To be sure, Jupiter wreaks vengeance upon the inhospitable inhabitants of the village,—a feature which is paralleled in the *Grímnismál* by the death of Geirrðör,—but the illustration of divine punishment was here foreign to Tegnér's purpose and therefore the theme of the *Grímnismál* was not so germane to Tegnér's thought as was the theme of Ovid's poem.

Ägir in Old Norse mythology represents the benign aspects of the sea, whereas Ran, his wife, typifies the hostile and wicked powers of the deep. Therefore, Ägir's naturally benign character would serve as a starting point for the analogy with Jupiter in the legend of *Philemon and Baucis*. That Ägir is ship-wrecked and not an exhausted traveler on land and that he bestows upon his benefactor a supernatural ship instead of a marvelous dwelling, is all in keeping with the nature of the god. Ägir-Neptune thus plays the role of Ägir-Jupiter in the legend of *Philemon and Baucis*.

The assumption that Tegnér had the legend of *Philemon and Baucis* in mind when he wrote this little episode about Ägir and the ship Ellida, is consonant with the classical form (cf. the heroic hexameter, similes, etc.) and general atmosphere of this canto. Furthermore, Tegnér elsewhere utilized classical myths to illustrate moral truths. One most striking example of this occurs in his *Epilog* of 1820 where the myth of *Apollo and Daphne* (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I) symbolizes the eternal pursuit of truth—*tecknet är ej saken*. Certainly the moral of the fable *Philemon and Baucis* as Ovid puts it:

Cura pii dis sunt, et qui coluere coluntur.⁴

must have appealed to Tegnér's humanitarian instincts. Besides, this sentiment was in keeping with the traditional ideals in the North regarding hospitality.

⁴ This he does by divulging his identity in the name *Ägir*. Hitherto the god has spoken only in the first person.

⁵ "The gods protect the righteous, and they who have cared for, are cared for."

Furthermore, we should remember that the moral of the fable is essentially Christian and as such would naturally have impressed Tegnér who indeed converted the old *Frithiofssaga* into a sort of Christian homily. In fact, the moral of the fable might well be expressed in the words of St. Paul (*Heb.*, XIII, 2): "Forget not to show love into strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Such a sentiment was most skilfully utilized by Tegnér in explaining the acquisition of Frithiof's magic ship Ellida.

The story of Ellida, altho original on the part of Tegnér, thus reflects influences of a very composite nature, viz., Old Norse, classical, and possibly Christian. So far as Old Norse influences are concerned, we may safely assume, I think, that they are chiefly confined to the terminology and to the setting of the story, which was in keeping with the nautical atmosphere of the original saga. The classical elements, on the other hand, furnished Tegnér with the motif of his story, viz., the reward for hospitality towards strangers. This ideal of reward for virtue's own sake was a theme in accord both with Tegnér's humanitarian instincts and his tendency to convert the classical myths into moral truths. The moral truth of this fable was, furthermore, substantiated by the words of St. Paul (*Heb.* XIII, 2).

As to the magic character of the ship itself, Tegnér had the precedent of the original saga in so far at least as Ellida was there endowed with human intelligence (cf. chap. VI). Perhaps too Tegnér's imagination may have in this regard been stimulated by the example of the god Freyr's magic ship, *Skiðblaðnir*. At any rate, the poet's recourse to magic here is only in keeping with the Romantic element⁶ of the sagas which had to do with witchcraft and the supernatural (cf. the story of *Angurvadel*, *Tyrfing* and other magic swords).

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⁶ Magic ships, which sail of their own accord, are not infrequent in Romantic literature. In Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) the Mariner's ship is propelled by the Spirit of the deep (so likewise the Phantom ship); cf. also the legend of the *Flying Dutchman*.

WHEN A NOVELIST IS IN A HURRY

(The case of Johan Bojer and "The Great Hunger.")

"The Great Hunger" made Johan Bojer, the Norwegian novelist, very popular in the Anglo-Saxon world. His popularity was greatly strengthened by the publication in English of "The Last of the Vikings." I don't think I am overstating the case when I say that Bojer is now the most widely read foreign author in America.

The reason for his popularity is not far to seek. One finds in the two novels named an epic grandeur, a joy in the living of a great life, that makes a peculiar appeal to a society yet so young that expansion in every direction is its most outstanding characteristic. Bojer, it would seem, has acquired an abiding faith in life itself. Life, as he sees it, flows like an immeasurable stream between two poles the distance between which is infinity. Life is essentially good. It may be beautiful. Even the virtue of a great kindness may be found in it for him who has sense enough to embrace that kindness. It is of course true that life is tragic in so far that the individual must always depart from it—Bojer admits that. But the individual disappears in order to give room for other individuals. The endless chain of growth and decay in humanity is a natural process and in reality no more tragic than the seasonal changes of the year. There is no real tragedy in life save that of the individual who fails in self-realization; there is no other sin than that. Struggle there must be, for thus it is in nature. But he who has reached self-realization has fruited and thereby fulfilled his purpose. His departure from life cannot possibly be called "tragic" any more than one may predicate tragedy about the ripe apple falling from the tree. With the many buds that never become ripe apples Bojer doesn't concern himself. One can readily see how such a view of life makes a strong appeal to our American psychology. Add to this philosophy Bojer's knack of telling a good story well, his sparkling style, his easy, carefree realism which is never coarse but rather wholesome, and we have, I think, a fairly satisfactory explanation for his popularity in this country.

But if Bojer continues to live in America, it will hardly be because of the book which first made him with us. That may sound a bit paradoxical perhaps, as the very title of that novel and no less its theme would seem to contain eternal life. It isn't likely that the great hunger will ever leave the human soul. And then too, this novel is the most universal of all of Bojer's works. It is certainly his most poetic. Over its characters is a warm, red glow such as is only to be found in books to which time is not. And nowhere else has Bojer ever reached such richness of style, written an easier flowing narrative—unless it should be in certain portions of "The Last of the Vikings."

If all this is true, why shouldn't "The Great Hunger" find a place with the immortals? Because, I would say, Bojer upon reaching the most critical point in the development of the psychology of his "best man," was in too great a hurry. Time seems to have pressed him hard, and so he began looking about for a short cut out of a great difficulty. He thinks he sees a way out and leaps. By that leap he cuts the Gordian knot and gets a readable ending to his story, an ending, in fact, so touching that it will make all sentimentally inclined readers weep even copiously. But somehow, life is much more hard hearted than the reader who sits with a book in one hand and a handkerchief and a bottle of smelling salts in the other. Life is harsh with the sentimentalists. Everything not genuine it does not care to carry along on its long journey through the ages, and most likely it will soon tire of this novel. It is indeed very regrettable that an unfortunate ending, hurried and therefore badly done, should mar an otherwise great work.

In order to make my thesis intelligent it becomes necessary to call to mind a few facts concerning "The Great Hunger." The novel, as is well known is divided into three main portions, of which the first contains sixty-five pages,¹ the second ninety, while the last has only forty-four pages.

Per Holm, the main character, an illegitimate son of a sea captain who lived "the glad life" to the very last, is being fostered in a cottager's family. His life is like that of any other

¹ *Romaner Og Fortællinger*, III Bind, Gyldendal, 1917.

lad of the coast. But he himself is different. The mood of the infinite is upon him and gives him no peace. He yearns to be a priest, nay, a veritable high priest, one that stands with his head high up among the clouds and explains the universe and God to man. Because of great poverty, however, but more so because of the meanness of men, the road to theology is closed to him. So he enters a technical school as an apprentice. After years of hard work, intense discipline and self-denial he becomes a worker in steel, an engineer—one that opens new avenues to industry and thereupon erects temples of mortar and steel for business. Upon finishing his course, he, with two fellow colleagues, leaves Norway for the Orient, where, at this time, great projects of engineering are about to be undertaken. This is the first portion of the book—well told, rich in coloring and very human in its close intimacy with life.

Far richer is the second portion. I am inclined to doubt that in the literature of the Scandinavian North in the twentieth century one will find another ninety pages of narrative quite so well told and so rich in coloring as Part Two of "The Great Hunger." The portion opens with Per Holm as he is returning to Norway. He is now independently rich. Success and fame have bowed to him. But the brown, yellowish complexion, the lean, sinewy body which has something unearthly about it, and the sprinkle of gray above his temples, bear telling testimony of the struggles he has gone through. He must be about thirty-five or thirty-seven years old by this time. Now he has been traveling for some time. In Greece he has studied architecture and sculpture. He has "done" the Eternal City, not as an American summer sight-seer, but as a sober, mature man bent upon understanding the secret of this thing which men call civilization. His hunger for knowledge and for divining the mystery of things is yet insatiable. Life in the great capitals of Europe he has observed at close hand. It didn't interest him; the shallow commercialism of it all made the man of the desert sick at heart. His homeland he has not seen since the day he as a mere youth left it. Many and many a night while he lay there gazing at the starry sky of the Orient has the spirit of his country called him. And now he is heeding that call! Upon landing he

stops just long enough at the capital to slake his thirst in a bottle of champagne in the company of an old schoolfellow, whereupon he shakes off the dust of the city and takes to the mountains. Day after day he hastens on up country, wishing to come ever nearer and yet a little closer to the very heart of his own land. As he passes over heaths and crosses mountain vastnesses and is enveloped by the spirit that rises out of tarn and moorland he is filled with the very passion of a great joy. At last he is home again! This is his country! . . . But in a lonely cabin, well hidden on the bay of a mountain lake, Fate steps up to him and marks him. Here he meets Merle, a woman so great and noble, but above all—so humanly good that even Bojer himself is considerably puzzled with just what to do with her. For that reason he doesn't do enough to her. Merle, at times, does not stand out as clearly as one might have wished. Yet clearly enough to make the reader perfectly willing to spend half his life in the desert of Sahara, if not in a worse place, provided such a reward as Merle could be his. These two human beings, it seems, have been searching for each other since the day time began. So Per Holm marries Merle, buys an estate from his father-in-law, and settles down. He is a rich man, the love of a great and good woman is his, he owns just the kind of home he has wished for, and the great world beyond the estate has absolutely no more attraction for him.

One can readily understand that a writer who is as much of an artist as Bojer and at the same time a realist could not possibly end the story where real trouble is about to begin. He has now come to a very knotty point in his plot—not the worst however. What is he to do with Per Holm now? Where shall he let him break out?—Let us see what Bojer does.

Per Holm, the worker in steel, the Empire-Builder turned *Grand Seigneur* up in one of the valleys of Norway, soon grows restless under the tedium of a happy life. One would expect that. He manages his estate well enough, but the task is only a little sport during leisure hours and not at all commensurate with his abilities. There is a blacksmith shop on the place, the song of the steel begins humming in his ear; the shop is transformed into a sort of a private laboratory in which he sets to work on inventions. That too is only a little diversion. Certain

disturbing questions keep coming to him with persistent frequency: "What are you doing with all the potential possibilities stored up in you?—Have you now reached the fullest self-realization?—What is the meaning of this thing we call life?—What is God?" etc., and so the tedium of life rests heavier upon him. Now it happens that a great engineering project is to start in a neighboring district. The undertaking involves millions of kroner. Specifications and bids are called for. Per Holm doesn't want to compete for the job, but is compelled by overmastering Fate. The contract is awarded him, and of course he fails. After some two years of struggle against insuperable difficulties he is done, having not only bankrupted himself but also his father-in-law; he is down and out so far as fortune is concerned, in body and soul—a crushed man. Up to this point "The Great Hunger" is certainly a great novel.

But here Bojer has reached the most difficult point in the plot. What is he now to do with Per Holm? And he must do something. To leave him here is impossible. All the while we have felt clearly that this novel had a far loftier purpose than that of proving the platitude that even the ablest of engineers may sometimes miscalculate and as a result fail in business. Any school boy could tell us that. And certainly, the title points to something quite different. The hunger which Per Holm has suffered all his life is a restless longing to understand the spirit of things i. e. *God*. Self-realization in Per Holm's case means the acquiring of that understanding. So Bojer goes to work and converts the man. There is nothing quixotic about the act, it happens logically. The conversion is of a most thoroughgoing sort. At last Per Holm understands that there is an infinite spirit surrounding and pervading all things, whose essential nature is benign. And that spirit changes him so completely that he who for forty years or more has sought only his own, now gets up in the night, takes the only seed grain he has and with it—sows his enemy's field. He is utterly crushed yet happier than ever before, because the great spirit that sustains all things is now also abiding in him.

We have no fault to find with Bojer because he converts Per Holm, even though this act is not in strict accord with the orthodox or Lutheran formula; we indict him for a

graver sin. What has hitherto happened to Per Holm we have *seen* with our own eyes. Life itself, so to speak, has shown it to us. Not so with this act of conversion; that is taken out of the picture, placed outside of the frame. We are informed of it through a letter which Per Holm writes to his friend Klaus Broch! We grant without argument that the letter is unusually well written,—perhaps too well for a down-and-out engineer,—that it contains phrases that will haunt us, and that it profoundly stirs our sympathy. Yet it is only a letter and it forms the last chapter of the book! It is Per Holm himself that tells about the great change which has taken place within him. Would that it were life that showed us the process and the changes wrought step by step! It is, in the first place, rather strange that Per Holm tells this to Klaus Broch. The two have really never been intimate, and Per Holm is not the man who talks much about himself, at least he has not done so before. Pride and taciturnity are not traits of character easily changed by conversion. But we will pass over that. It is much worse that Per's letter is the sole and only testimony of this conversion business. Of course one doesn't like to gainsay him when he states soberly that it has happened and that the change is so profound. But one can't refrain from wishing that one had had a chance to see the thing happen. After the testimony is heard and court adjourned, one's mind keeps on turning over this idea *that it is a very great change!* It's a tremendous thing. In fact it is so remarkable that it deserves recording in a whole library of novels. We recall what we have of valuable experiences; we have seen many down-and-outs; we even know some of them now, but that a down-and-out gets up during the night, takes the only seed-grain he has and with it sows his enemy's field, even though he is converted, is so strange that it is positively startling. It is by far the most remarkable thing that has happened to Per Holm since we became acquainted with him. And mark you—we are informed of it through a letter and that letter ends the book! Would that Flaubert or Dostovjesky had written this portion of the novel! There are so many perplexing questions one might have wished to ask concerning Per Holm, for example "How did this man who gets

up in the night and sows his enemy's field, conduct himself in the future? Did he help his enemy harvest and make bread also? Wasn't he finally locked up in some state institution for safe keeping?" We cannot possibly understand how he could remain at large and live. Of course we recall having read about saintly persons, who at the time of their departure from this life prayed for their enemies that their sins might be forgiven them, but anything like this case we have never heard of before. Hence, we are so utterly out of patience with Bojer for leaving off just where a real story begins. Anybody can see that Per Holm's life from now on must be ten times more interesting as a study in psychology and sociology than it has been heretofore.

I cannot find any other explanation but that Bojer must have been in a great hurry when he came to this exceedingly intricate point in Per Holm's psychology. The lineotype man was perhaps calling for more copy, saying indecent words to himself and even over the telephone because the copy didn't come fast enough. The publisher too may have been peeved; the book simply had to be ready in good time for the Christmas trade. One can readily imagine how hard Bojer was put to it. He too is anxious to get the book done. And so he yields to the temptation of giving Per Holm permission to write this letter and thereby to end the book. The letter fills seven and one half closely printed pages which is rather much of a letter between friends now-a-days. It looks as if Bojer did not quite trust his own devise—which is not to be wondered at. When one remembers what the letter is supposed to accomplish in the psychology of the novel, then one feels certain that it ought to have been one hundred pages longer at least. Dastovjevsky might have used a good many more. So I would say in conclusion that if "The Great Hunger" dies prematurely—a thing that is likely to happen—it is because its creator has been juggling with the facts of life. And life doesn't condone any trifling; no matter how cleverly done, such a procedure is sure to inflict punishment. I should say that it would be rather strange if this didn't happen in the case of "The Great Hunger."

O. E. RÖLVAAG

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HOW SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES HAVE GIVEN COLOR TO HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

While the Europeans have learned much from America, America has much to learn from Europe. The sooner we come to the realization of this, the sooner will we attain an enviable position among the great nations of the world.

To our doorstep have come the peoples of many nations, and with them they have brought gifts to lay at our feet. It is the heritage of their forebears. This legacy we should add to our own rich store.

Among these many peoples are the three peoples of the North. They have brought us their brain and their brawn, and they have consecrated their youth to the service of the new land. Where the pioneers plowed the plains and cleared the forests their descendants are engaged in many pursuits, and are now moulding American ideals.

It is the purpose of this paper to show what contributions the Scandinavians have given to our educational life, and particularly that phase of Scandinavian studies which has added to the development of our secondary schools, and especially in Minneapolis where the movement began, and where at the present time 744 students are pursuing the study of the Scandinavian languages.

It was sixteen years ago that the work had its beginnings. Some had their misgivings as to the advisability of the project, some frowned at it, and some laughed at it. Unpropitious were its beginnings, but it gained momentum and began to make its imprint on student body and class-room, and other school activities. Today there is scarcely a subject in the school curriculum which does not at some time come in contact with this influence.

First of all I wish to mention the various Scandinavian language clubs in Minneapolis and what they have accomplished. They have all had the common aim of promoting Scandinavian culture and creating social intercourse among their members.

The oldest of all is the Edda Club of South High School, which last year celebrated its fifteenth anniversary by pre-

senting before the entire student body and faculty a program commemorating the Norse-American Centennial. The Svithiod, the Swedish Club of South High, was the next to come into existence and has done much to stimulate interest in Swedish music. In due time the Viking and Iduna of North High, the Norse Club and Gotha of Central High, and the Scandinavian Club of Roosevelt High were organized.

These clubs have all been a strong bond in the various undertakings out of school and in classes, as well as in all school interests. Local speakers have addressed the clubs, declamatory contests have been held, folk dancing has been featured, musical and dramatic entertainments have been given. Some of the outstanding events which in the course of time have taken place may be mentioned in brief as follows: Ten years ago an entertainment was given at the South High Auditorium presenting scenes from Ibsen's *The Warriors* to an audience of two thousand people. Of more recent date was the presentation of scenes from *Peer Gynt* by the Norse Club of Central High School, as well as several lectures by Dr. Richard Burton on the *Three Giants of the North—Björnson, Ibsen, and Strindberg* sponsored by the same club. At an auditorium Christmas program at North High School in December last there was an inter-language declamatory contest in which the fairy-tale of *The Three Bears* was given in a Babel of languages, the Viking Club receiving the laurels. The Scandinavian Club of Roosevelt High came into existence about a year ago, has with alacrity caught the spirit of the other clubs and affiliated closely with them. It gave its initial public entertainment shortly after its organization.

In combined efforts, the joint clubs have during their existence given many entertainments which have stimulated and promoted interest in the language studies.

Three years ago the first All City Scandinavian Banquet was given by all the Scandinavian High School clubs. It immediately aroused interest, and was a bond for closer union. Since then it has become an annual event. This year the two Scandinavian clubs at the University have joined with the high school groups. This will be the binding link in a greater circle. This gathering was held at the University of Minnesota

and was the most enthusiastic and interesting gathering of its kind given in the history of the clubs.

As an outgrowth of the language clubs, there was organized in September of last year the Junior Chapter of the American Scandinavian Foundation, virtually a Scandinavian drama league. It is comprised of a group of young people who have completed their high school courses, but still wish to continue their Scandinavian activities. They number in membership about twenty-five. Miss Pauline Farseth, Norse instructor at North High, was instrumental in the organization of the chapter and has served it in an advisory capacity. Already in March of this year the chapter offered as its initial performance Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman* to an appreciative audience, evoking much favorable comment from the press and public.

Separate and apart from the Scandinavian departments themselves, there have been other phases of Scandinavian studies which have come to bear their stamp on the high school work. Perhaps the greatest dramatic undertaking attempted by any high school group in the United States was the presentation of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* by the June class of 1923 of South High under the direction of Miss Helen Fish, dramatic coach of the school. The play was given three nights running to full capacity houses and received much favorable comment not only here but in magazine articles elsewhere.

In her drama classes as well, Miss Fish has spent considerable time on Ibsen and his plays. Among the plays studied and read are: *An Enemy of the People*, *A Doll's House*, and *Peer Gynt*. Miss Fish has found that the Scandinavian children are better suited for tragedy than comedy and give their best contribution in the deep and serious, akin to their own natures.

Poems of a religious character such as "The Twenty-Third Psalm" or Brownings's "Soul," or poems of strength and vigor appeal to the Scandinavian pupils. When their latent powers are once aroused, they rise to heights in public speaking.

What is true in the drama and public speaking is also true in music. Sacred music gets its finest expression in Scandinavian sections. There the hearth and the home-life still exist, there religious feeling is still the deep under-current in the emotional

life of the people. One is reminded of Björnson's words in the second chapter of *Synnöve Solbakken* where he says: "One cannot picture Norwegian peasants corrupted, or uncorrupted, without one place or another coming in contact with the church."

It is this strain in the Scandinavian folk that Dr. F. Melius Christiansen has reckoned with. It is this very thing that has made the St. Olaf Choir the marvel of its day.

The musical directors of our public schools have not been slow to recognize this factor in their school music. In Scandinavian sections of our city, national and sacred music has its best expression. Our high school glee clubs sing such compositions as *Landjending* both in English and Norwegian, *The Saga of Eric the Red*, *The Song of the Vikings* by Fanning, *America, My Country* by Grondahl. They are especially partial to six-eight part music and sing whole series of Christiansen's arrangements. In the state musical contest last year, the South High Glee Clubs sang Christiansen's *Hear Me* and this year will enter with *Beautiful Savior* by the same composer.* It is remarkable to note that all the Minneapolis High School orchestras have chosen to play the *Peer Gynt Suite* by Grieg as their entry this year.

I am sure it will be a revelation to many to know that the supplementary reading lists in English include such Scandinavian names and books as these: *The Pretenders and Pillars of Society* by Ibsen, *Synnöve Solbakken*, *A Happy Boy*, and *Arne* by Björnson, *The Family at Gilje* by Jonas Lie, *The Great Hunger* by Bojer, *The Wonderful Adventure of Nils*, *Jerusalem*, *The Girl of the Marshcroft*, and *Gösta Berling* by Selma Lagerlöf,

* Since writing this paper, the South High School's Chorus, 22 boys and 27 girls under the direction of Henry E. Griebenow, won the championship in the state high school music contest at the State University, and carried the audience completely away by singing "Beautiful Savior," an old hymn arrangement by Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, director of the famous St. Olaf Choir.

When they had finished Dr. Christiansen, in his slow and mild, but emphatic way, observed that they had sung it "very, very well."

The judges evidently thought so, too. And so did the audience. For a second after they had finished the hymn, there was absolute silence throughout the armory. Then came applause that almost lifted the roof off the building.

The Book of the Little Brother by Geijerstam, *Selected Short Stories* by Hallström, and *The Charles Men* by Heidenstam.

In connection with this, I might mention here a recent circular sent out by the Public Library of Newark, N. J. Among other things, it was interesting to note these headings:

Do you know these girls? It is a list of sixty-one names of girls in the real world and in the world of books, and numbers among them the following: *Inger Johanne*, *Snow-White* and *Idun*; under the caption *Land of the Vikings* in *Song and Story* is found a list of current books in English version about the peoples and the varied phases of their life and culture:

Bain:	Scandinavia
Clark:	Charm of Scandinavia
Gathorne:	Norse Discoveries
Guerber:	Myths of Northern Lands
Kershaw:	Stories and Ballads
Laurin:	Scandinavian Art
Leach:	Britain and Scandinavia
Thomas:	Norse Tales
Williams:	Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age.

In World History such special topics as these appear: The Significance of the 17th of May, the Union of Calmar in connection with nationalism, and Bernadotte in Sweden in connection with Napoleon.

In United States History, the discovery of America by Leif Erickson is no longer regarded as a myth, and John Ericsson, as the inventor of the Monitor, has gained greater prominence as a national figure. When the problem of immigration is studied the Scandinavians play no little part in the westward immigration.

In civics and law, the jury system calls forth the study of the *thing* of the early Norsemen where they proclaimed the election of their kings and sat in judgment over their peers.

Thus in almost every subject of our high school curriculum there is some point of contact where the boy or girl of Scandinavian lineage may point to the deeds of his ancestors, take a pride in their accomplishments, and awaken in himself the latent

powers of his heritage, give to our life his contribution, and help mould it into the life of the new home on this side of the waters.

Reflecting on what has been accomplished in this field during the last decade or more, we may feel that our labors have not been in vain.

MAREN MICHELET

Minneapolis, Minn.

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met in Folwell Hall, Room 206, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, on Friday and Saturday, May 7 and 8, 1926.

First Session, Friday, May 7, 2 p. m.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor C. N. Gould. Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota extended in behalf of the University of its President a welcome to the members of the Society. Dean Ford stated that he was a member of the Society by choice, interested in Scandinavian scholarship. He called attention to the contact and interchange between cultures as something intangible and yet very evident. He spoke of the renewed interest in the problem of human migration and voiced the hope that a Scandinavian museum might be founded in this region.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. The Magic Ship *Ellida* in Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*—15 minutes. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas.
2. The Text of Havamal, Stanza 75—15 minutes. By Professor C. N. Gould, University of Chicago. Discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant and O. E. Rølvaag.
3. The Word *Norway* and its Cognates—15 minutes. By Professor Gisle Bothne, University of Minnesota. Discussed by Professors A. A. Stomberg and A. M. Sturtevant.
4. Evolutionary Philosophy in Strindberg—20 minutes. By Professor Harry V. E. Palmblad, Phillips University. Read by Professor David F. Swenson, University of Minnesota.
5. A Sketch of Professor Rølvaag's Novel on Norwegian Pioneering in the Dakotas—20 minutes. By Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. Read by Miss Maren Michelet, South High School, Minneapolis.
6. Kierkegaard's Theory of the Three Spheres of Life—20 minutes. By Professor David F. Swenson, University of Minnesota.

There were forty present at this session.

At six-thirty the Society had dinner at Nicolet Hotel. Miss Tekla Alexis of North High School, Minneapolis, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, introduced Professor Joseph Alexis, who served as toastmaster. The Odin Club Male Chorus, conducted by Mr. C. Arthur Carlson, favored the Society with a number of selections in the different Scandinavian languages and in English. Miss Maren Michelet welcomed the Society to Minneapolis. Professor Chester N. Gould in his response called attention to the aims of the Society in its publications. Vocal selections were rendered by Mr. Waldemar Hagen, accompanied by Miss Jessie Jacobsen. Violin solos were played by

Mr. Arthur Pearson. Professor A. M. Sturtevant spoke on Scandinavian studies. Mr. Harry Lund called attention to the possibilities of greater co-operation among Americans of Scandinavian descent to further these studies. Mr. D. M. Frederiksen spoke on the spirit of fellowship prevailing among Swedes, Norwegians and Danes in carrying on this work. Mrs. Gudrun Lindberg sang a group of songs, accompanied by Miss Jessie Jacobsen. Mrs. Gisle Bothne spoke in Norwegian and Dr. J. Lindberg in Swedish on various phases of American-Scandinavian relations. The program was brought to a conclusion by all joining in the singing of Scandinavian folksongs, led by Miss Helen Laugert, violinist, Miss Marvel Hansen, pianist, and Mrs. C. N. Gould, soprano.

The following committees were appointed. Committee on Resolutions: Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Joseph Alexis. Auditing Committee: Professor A. H. Krappe and Miss Maren Michelet. Nominating Committee: Professors A. M. Sturtevant and O. E. Rølvaag and Miss Pauline Farseth.

There were 52 present at the dinner.

Second Session, Saturday, May 8, 9:30 A.M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor C. N. Gould.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: "The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study expresses its most sincere gratitude to the Twin City Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies and to the University of Minnesota for the cordial welcome extended in Minneapolis at the sixteenth annual meeting. The Society also appreciates the faithful work of the local committees and the delightful program of Scandinavian music; for all of which it wishes to extend most cordial thanks. The Society further desires to recognize with gratitude the co-operation of all who have helped to make this meeting an enjoyable affair and a real success." The resolution was adopted.

The following officers were elected:

President, Professor Chester N. Gould of the University of Chicago.

Vice-President, Professor L. M. Larson of the University of Illinois.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years, Professor Julius Olson of the University of Wisconsin and Professor Gisle Bothne of the University of Minnesota.

It was decided to continue the finance committee to secure funds for endowment.

The reading of papers was resumed:

7. Tyr's Arrows—15 minutes. By Professor A. H. Krappe, University of Minnesota. Discussed by Professor C. N. Gould.

8. The Nature Mood in Knut Hamsun—25 minutes. By Professor O. E. Rølvaag, St. Olaf College. Discussed by Mr. Ralph A. Norem and Miss Maren Michelet.

9. How Scandinavian Studies Have Given Color to High School Activities—15 minutes. Miss Maren Michelet, South High School, Minneapolis. Discussed by Professors A. A. Stomberg, O. E. Rølvaag, and C. N. Gould, and Mr. John Flodin.

10. The Political Trend of Swedish Literature in Finland in Recent Decades—20 minutes. By Mr. John Flodin, University of Minnesota. Discussed by Professor O. E. Rølvaag.

There were twenty-two present at this session.

Adjournment.

The Society had luncheon at the Odin Club at 12:30. At 2:30 the members enjoyed a sightseeing trip arranged for by the local committee.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*

POLITICAL TREND OF RECENT SWEDISH LITERATURE IN FINLAND

Finland's spirit of national unity had its inception some decades before her separation from Sweden in 1809, but it was not until after the first difficulties of readjustment to the new relationship with Russia had been overcome that this spirit gave rise to a national movement. The members of the educated "upper classes" in Finland were mainly of Swedish descent. Only a generation before they had been citizens of Sweden; now they felt the bond with the mother country growing ever weaker, while the knitting of intimate ties with the strange, semi-oriental people to the eastward seemed an impossible task. Even within their own country they were isolated from the rank and file of the people, with whom they had scarcely more than a master-and-servant relationship, and whose language they could speak only haltingly if at all. It was quite natural, then, that these Swedes in Finland should feel a compelling need for a close harmony between the two elements of the population. True to the democratic idealism that had permeated Swedish legislation since the days when Finland was first conquered by Sweden, they firmly believed in complete understanding and confidence between the ruler and the ruled. They realized that if the handful of people who called themselves the Finnish nation was to have an existence distinct from that of Russia although bound to her politically, that people must be united, not divided into racial groups, not sundered into classes of factions, not torn by strifes and hatreds.

The result was a reaching downward from above, a sincere effort to understand and to appreciate as well as to educate and elevate the Finnic populace. The collecting of the Kalevala and the *Kanteletar* by Lönnrot and the glorification of the Finnic peasant in many of the works of Runeberg and Topelius are at the same time both manifestations of this movement and potent stimuli for its continuance.

But the pendulum swung too fast and too far. Many over-enthusiastic "ultra-fennomans" began to reason that all things Swedish were alien to Finland, thrust on the rightful owners of

the land by force of arms, and that it was high time for the Finns to rid themselves of the foreign yoke: the Swedish language was to be crushed out, and with it the Swedish literature of Finland, including the invaluable works of Runeberg and Topelius. Endless reforms encroached, first, on the traditional and now obsolescent privileges of the upper classes, and, later, on the rights of all Swedish speaking people in Finland. Not until the 1860's, however, is there any indication that the Swedes began to feel that their position was becoming so difficult as to demand organized resistance, and it was not until the 1870's that the Swedish party was finally launched, though even then with trepidation and hesitancy rather than with vigor and enthusiasm.

In Swedish literature in Finland this period of hesitancy and doubt is represented by Karl August Tavaststjerna, whose writings vividly illustrate the inward struggle between the ideal of national unity and the ideal of preserving the Swedish mother tongue and its cultural traditions. Of mixed ancestry and brought up in a Swedish speaking home in a Finnic community, Tavaststjerna was thoroughly familiar with both the Finnish and Swedish points of view, and well qualified to write in either language. He elected to write in Swedish and to assume a complete detachment from all political conflicts, thus abruptly departing from the ultra patriotic trend established by Runeberg and Topelius. His first book, "Morning Breeze," (1883), is a collection of poems devoted to nature study among the islands of the seacoast. Its carefree, utterly non-political tone, as well as its keen appreciation of nature, are well represented by the introduction to the volume:

"Come, sail with me where the sea gull flies—
We'll drive my boat till the spume tastes bitter!
I have it fitted with stays and guys,
But will not sail for a costlier prize
Than morning air over waves that glitter!"¹

¹ "Kom ut och länsa för morgonbris
uti min slup så att skummet spritter,
jag har den riggat på eget vis,
vi tävla icke om annat pris
än morgon luft över böljglitter."

This little stanza is indicative of much of Tavaststjerna's earlier work: a search for beauty and for truth of a finer kind than could be heard at party meetings. But he could not wholly avoid the pressure of politics and his reference to the language struggle grew more and more frequent until in 1890 he published his "Business," which is a scathing travesty on the language question. Two years later he wrote the novel "Hard Times," in which the point of view is decidedly Finnic, and in the same year he dramatized the novel in Finnish. Under other circumstances such vacillation could perhaps be regarded as reprehensible, but with Tavaststjerna it merely reflects the painful difficulty he experienced in trying to decide whether the duty to the country or the duty to the cultural traditions of his Swedish ancestors was more sacred. This is further borne out by his correspondence and particularly by the following little quatrain, which was found among his papers after his death:

"Give me a tongue and give me a land,
Give me to love a tender band,
Give me a group to which I belong,
Give me a people to labor among!"²

It is not improbable that the same doubts, the same leaning toward the Finnic, would have weakened the work of the Swedish authors in Finland after Tavaststjerna, if it had not been for the trend of the rapidly growing Finnic literature. Authors of the higher rank—Juhani Aho, for example—treated the political question from a broad point of view, if at all. But writers who found it necessary to resort to sensationalism in order to sell their books did not hesitate to paint all Swedes, in Finland and elsewhere, in the blackest colors. This, together with the incessant demand for legislation unfavorable to the Svecomans, though not always necessarily desirable for the Finns, served to crystallize the growing national consciousness among the Swedes and to arouse their spirit of resistance.

² "Giv mig ett språk och giv mig ett land,
giv mig att älska älskade band,
giv mig en krets till hvilken jag hör,
giv mig ett mål att stupa för!"

At about the same time another factor made itself felt: it became increasingly apparent that Finland's existence as an autonomous nation was seriously threatened. Active Russification of Poland and the Baltic Provinces had been undertaken by Alexander III, and the methods there employed were applied in Finland soon after the ascension of Nicolas II, who in Finland earned the nickname "The Promise-Breaker," in Russia, "The Bloody." Spreading of propaganda by Russian peddlers, the censoring of the press and of oral public utterances to prevent counter propaganda, abolition of the Finnish army, exile or deportation to Siberia of all those who dared to attempt organized resistance—such was the Russian program. It is natural that the question of opposition against Russia's aggressions should occupy the thoughts and the energies of all patriotic Finlanders to the exclusion of party strifes and language struggles. But a new line of cleavage appeared. Some cautious people contended that the only sane course for Finland lay in humble submission, since open rebellion against Russia was unthinkable; others argued that nothing could be gained by submission, while resistance at least gave the satisfaction of saving the honor of the country if nothing else could be saved.

The language struggle, the question of resistance against Russia, and the World War with the subsequent Bolshevik menace are, then, the major political questions that have influenced and been influenced by the more recent Swedish literature in Finland.

Among the authors of this period Arvid Mörne has perhaps had the greatest influence, but more so because of his political and journalistic activities than because of his literary work. Mörne, like Tavaststjerna, loved the sea, and found joy in painting the picture of

"Blossoms of foam on the crest of each wave
Plucked by the swiftest of wind squalls."

He soon abandoned the pose of neutrality, however, and openly assumed an attitude of defense for the existence of Swedish culture and literature in Finland, concurrently with the growing Finnic literature. His book "Sweden and the

Swedish Finland," together with his lectures and journalistic work along the same lines, is an effort toward re-establishing a bond of sympathy between the Swedes in Finland and their original mother country.

Hjalmar Procopé, on the other hand, does not concern himself so much with the struggle between Svecomans and Fennomans as with the struggle of Finland against Russification, a large number of his poems being of a type that must be classified as anti-Russian propaganda. At times he voices a pleading appeal for loyalty and courage; at other times he pictures the political situation calmly though not without bitterness:

"The bonds that enclose us and smother us now
Will soon become tighter and tighter;
They plan to inure us to heavy chains
Until we no longer shall feel them."³

(From "Toward the Desert")

Again, in his poem, "Judgment":

"More loud and more insistent grows the tone
Of those who ever labor for our death;
Our voice no longer reaches to the throne,
Shame over those who in its hour of danger
Their land abandoned. . . ."⁴

³ "Den boja som redan oss smitts så trång
skall sluta sig trängre och trängre,
man vänjer oss småningom vid dess tvång
till dess vi ej märka det längre."

(From "Mot öknen")

⁴ "Allt djärvare för varje dag blir tonen
hos dem, som öppet yrka på vår död.
Vår stämma når ej längre fram till tronen,
där ingen arm mer höjes till vårt stöd.

Skam över dem, den dagens man, som sveko
sveko sitt land i farans stund!—"

(From "Dom")

But in spite of his keen realization of the desperate situation of his country he does not lack in wholesome hopefulness for the future, a hope based on his evident faith in the loyalty, the strength, and the wisdom of patience he believes the people possess:

"In darkness and serfdom, dishonor and shame
We still are expecting our freedom."⁵

(From "We Are Waiting")

"Finis Finlandiæ" is perhaps the strongest of his political poems. The phrase "Finis Finlandiæ" was, according to a popularly credited rumor, first used by a Russian official to express the opinion that the existence of Finland as a nation was soon to end, and the poem is Procopé's answer. It is an indictment ringing with rage and resonant with rebellion, yet hopefully and defiantly reliant on the strength of Finland:

In the three-act comedy, "The Ancestral Spirit," Procopé presents a scathing satire on the feeble resistance against Russification, rather incidentally contrasting the self-seeking attitude of the Fennomans to the greater loyalty of the Swedish-Finns. The theme of the play is perhaps best summarized by the banal phrase "Talk is cheap," in that most of his actors express high-sounding ideas of patriotic duty but fail to practise what they preach. The only persons in the play who really act in a courageous manner are those who have little or nothing to lose—except Dr. Bruce, a leader among the Svecomans, who is exiled.

The poetry of Bertel Gripenberg represents in many respects a decided departure from his Swedish-Finnish predecessors and contemporaries. In his earlier erotic poetry, for example, he displays a Strindbergian realism which, through his intenseness of feeling and freedom of expression, does not always appear pleasing. Certainly they are not written with "Anglo-Saxon decency, moderation, and banal sentimentality," as he charac-

⁵ "Ur mörker och trældom och smälek och skam
vi vänta att en gång befrias."

(From "Vi vänta")

terizes the work of Jack London. On the other hand he does not fail to portray the feeling or the mood he sets out to paint:

"Of luring women the world is full
My passion's stormwind tells me."⁶

(From "The Song of Hunger")

But not many years later he tells a different kind of love story in his "The City of Roses" (*Rosenstaden*). There is still a strong touch of passion's stormwind, and luring beauty is still a magnet, but the greater calmness, at times amounting almost to serenity, lends a greater charm. The maturing process seems, however,—perhaps because of his ill health—to have brought with it a decided element of gloom. It would be hard to imagine anything more depressing than his description of the fog-covered sea, or his "Nocturne:"

"Give me the blackest flowers of the strand
Of death's dark, gleaming, subterranean stream,
And the cold patience of last night's dream
Give me thou, who gav'st me thy icy hand.

"Let all be night, a subterranean night,
With wondrous words, and eyes, far out of sight,
Forever darkly, questioningly burning.

"Extinguish all the stars in life's eternal sky,
Let all be dark, let life and longing die;
Put them to sleep, annihilate them, crush them."⁷

⁶ "Av sköna kvinnor är världen full—
begärens stormvind sjunger."

(From "Hungervisan")

⁷ "Skänk mig de svarta blommorna vid stranden
av underjordens tysta, blanka flod,
ock skänk mig nattens frusna tålamod,
du som i natt i drömmen skänk mig handen.

Låt allt bli natt, en underjordisk natt
med underbara ord, som hviska matt,
och mörka ögon hvilka gåtfullt brinna.

Låt stjärnor slockna över land och sjö,
låt allt bli mörkt, låt liv och längtan dö,
förintas, släckas, somna och försvinna."

This gloom runs parallel to manifestations of a patriotism and a fighting spirit that sometimes reach really sublime heights, and it does not seem improbable that these three characteristics in Gripenberg's work are largely caused by his feeling that he, the descendant of a long line of Swedes, belongs to a dying nationality, that he is homeless, unwelcomed by the majority of the people in his own land, even that he and his kind are oppressed.

"A child of times that long ago have vanished,
A late-born son of centuries of death,
Within your midst to live I have been banished.
I hear your words but know not what you say.

"The captives woe in en'my land I suffer,
But bend me to your will you cannot do."⁸

(From "The Phantom," *Black Sonnets*)

Somewhat later he wrote:

"Thou Swedish race whose destruction and death
Black envy and hate are causing,"⁹

(From "A Poem," not included in his collected works)

Nor did he hesitate to express the same thought in the Finnish language:

* "Ett barn av länge sedan döda tider,
en senfödd son av sekel som förgått
i eder mitt jag utan samtid skrider
och tank spridd till ert tal jag lyssnar blott.

Allt fångens kval i oväns land jag lider,
men böja mig lik er ne ej förmått."

(From "Gengångare")

* "Du svenska stam, som till undergång
nu avund och hat vilja viga,"

(From "En dikt," not included in his collected works.)

"Along the paths to death great families are going;
Relentlessly they hate us, persecute us,
By ev'ry means are seeking our undoing,

"10

(From "Ne suuret suvut," not included in his
collected works.)

But Gripenberg does not lack hope. As early as about the year 1900, when the Russification pressure began to become intolerable, he wrote:

"I forge in the hours of darkness
My armor shining and bright,
And metal of ringing hardness
I make into arms of might.
When night turns to golden brightness
I wait for the promised dawn,
With faith in the strength of my fastness
I watch and wait alone.

"I'll stand in my shining armor
Prepared to deal lightening blows."¹¹

(From "Preparation")

- ¹⁰ "Ne suuret suvut kulkee kuolon tietä
ja meitä vihataan ja vainotaan
ja kaikin asein hävitetään meitä
kuin petoeläimiä erämaan."

(From "Ne suuret suvut," not included in his collected works.)

- ¹¹ "Jag hamrar i mörka tider
min rustning skinande blank.
Det klingande stål jag smider
är fläckfritt och utan vank.
När natten mot morgon lider
jag vakar i väntan stum.
Beredd till kommande strider
jag bidar i ensamt rum.

då står jag i skrud som glimmar
beredd till blixtrande slag."

(From "Forberedelse")

Gripenberg's fighting spirit was not an idle boast, for during the Great War, and later during the Bolshevic Revolution, he took an active and honorable part in the military operations. This tended, if anything, to intensify his patriotism and to define more clearly his position as regards both Russia and the Bolsheviks. That he took a keen delight in the opportunity to fight for his country is indicated by the following:

"I feel that the worth of living
Has increased tenfold or more
Since Fate us a chance is giving
To fight like our fathers of yore

"¹²

(From "Liberation")

But Gripenberg's struggle against Russia and against Bolshevism does not end when the peace negotiations begin. He still sees dangers ahead, the enemy is still there, beaten off but unconquered. In "The Dance in Dorpat" he writes:

"They are dancing in Dorpat to softest air,
A melody sweet and endearing—
Caressing with Slavic richness and flare,
While lights in the crystals are gleaming.
The odor and sheen of flowers and glass
Lend softness to ringing laughter.

"But far in the heart of Finland,
Forgotten in lonely graveyards,
Stand numberless silent crosses
On numberless silent tombs.
There rest the faithful fighters
Whose blood and whose valor bought
Our Country's liberty.

¹² "Det känns som om livets värde
blev tiodubbelt igen
sedan ödet oss dock beskärde
att stå i vapen som men."

(From "Befrielsens stund")

"They are dancing in Dorpat a turn tonight,
They are dancing a turn with the Russ.

"13

It is worth noting that the blame for jeopardizing the position of the Swedes in Finland rests with themselves. Unselfishly, sometimes because of humanitarian motives, sometimes because of zeal for scientific investigation, they reached down to the Finnic peasant, studying his ancient poetry, his language, his physical and racial traits. They felt and made him feel that he was entitled to a place among the nations of the earth, even though he could not be removed from the shadow of the Russian colossus. In less than two score years the Finn was thoroughly enthused with the idea of national unity, but in his plan there entered no thought of give and take, no appreciation of the unselfishness of the leaders who had made his development possible. He would endure Russian supremacy, but the Swedes and everything pertaining to them he must brush aside. The resistance this attitude engendered among the Swedes was stimulated by and reflected in the literature of the

13 "Det dansas i Dorpat vid strängmusik
och slaviska toner smeka
med viskande vällust så varm och rik
och ljus i kristallerna leka.
Det skimrar och doftar kring blommor och glas
och pärlande ljuda skratten
vid smällande korkar och sidenfras—
det dansas i Dorpat i natten.

Men fjärran i Finlands bygder
på ensliga kyrkogårdar
stå tusende tysta kors
på tusende tysta gravar.
Där vila de goda kämpar
som köpte vår unga frihet
med dyrt och ädelt blod.

Det dansas i Dorpat en dans i natt,
det dansas en dans med ryssen

(From "Dansen i Dorpat")

last two or three decades. Likewise was the resistance against Russification and, later, against Bolshevism stimulated by the Swedish literature in Finland, since it was led by the Swedish descendants in Finland.

JOHN FLODIN

University of Minnesota

THE HISTORY OF THE SWEDISH BIBLE

PREFACE

The four-hundredth anniversary of the New Testament in Swedish will doubtless bring forth more than one review of the story of the New Testament in Sweden. In the knowledge of the author of this little treatise the Swedish New Testament has never been reviewed for English readers. Numerous volumes have been written on Luther's Testament of 1522, and Tyndale's of 1525, and now we would give English readers a survey that will contribute to an understanding of the history of the Swedish New Testament as well.

As the English translator, Tyndale, worked under and with Luther, a fact of which his translation bears ample testimony, so did also the Swedish translator have personal acquaintance with Luther and was guided to a great extent by the masterly translation of the great Reformer. As the English and German scholars have incorporated the recent marked advances in literary and archeological fields, so have also Swedish scholars been on the inside of this onward movement, and have profited greatly by new discoveries and scientific researches.

Whereas in England and Germany numerous individuals and groups of scholars have in recent years produced private translations in abundance, Sweden has gone a step further and produced an authorized, by Church and State duly accepted Bible in idiomatic Swedish, in the language our Lord and the apostles would speak if they lived among us today. Sweden has been prepared for the adoption of this Bible by the never ceasing researches of consecutive Bible Commissions over a period of one hundred and fifty years. In Sweden the writers of the Bible no longer speak in antique style, as is the case in England and America, but speak as the Greek Testament did when it was new, in easy and natural style.

ABBREVIATIONS

R.V. = The Revised Version.

N.U. = Normalupplagan, the 1883 Swedish translation.

A.V. = The King James or Authorized Version.

The 1917 Swedish translation is designated by

B.K. = Bibelkommissionen.

The Scandinavian North was known to the remainder of Europe during the first centuries of the Middle Ages only through the Viking expeditions of its inhabitants. Emperor Charles the Great, who far in advance of his times attempted to found his extensive empire on Christianity, enlightenment and justice, feared nothing so much as the white sails, which brought the brutal Norse Vikings to his coasts and threatened to destroy the fruit of his labors. When respect for the might of the great Charles no longer restrained them, these sea robbers landed upon his territory wherever hope of booty enticed them to pillage and loot. They pressed on even unto Paris and founded permanent dominions in Normandy and Italy and on Sicily.

It was the fellow countrymen of these very marauders in Sweden who sent word to the son and successor of Charles, Ludwig the Pious, requesting that teachers of Christianity be sent to their land. They gave assurance that many of the people desired to adopt the new faith and that their king was not at all averse to granting admission to teachers of Christianity. This is one of the few instances in the history of the world where a heathen nation has invited teachers of Christianity to come within its borders. Ludwig gladly acquiesced and sent Ansarius, then a monk in the Benedictine cloister at Corbey, Westphalia, who proceeded to Sweden accompanied by another pious monk, Withmar, in 830. The second apostle to the North was Sigfrid, an Englishman, who baptized the king of the land, Olof Skötkonung, about the year 1000. It was not, however, before the time of St. Eric, who died in 1160, that the Christian faith became dominant in Sweden.

PRE-REFORMATION TRANSLATIONS

The only Bible possessed by the clergy during these early centuries was of course the Latin Vulgate and this was so scarce that not every cloister possessed one. In the churches were found only the Missale and Breviarium, the former containing the pericopes, of which only the Gospel was explained in the mother tongue.

The earliest translations of which we have any record are the Psalter, the songs of praise in Luke, and a few prayers, e.g., that of Hezekiah in Isaiah 37. The following excerpts from manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Sweden will serve to illustrate the quality of these early translations. They are quoted from "Svenska Medeltidens Bibelarbeten," edited by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1848.

"In the beginning God created out of nothing at all heaven and earth. Not of himself as a father begets a son, and not of any material as a smith makes an axe. The earth was unused, empty and dark. Unused because nothing grew upon it. Empty because neither beast nor man was created. Dark because there was neither sun nor stars. And the spirit of the Holy Ghost moved over the waters, that is to say, over earth and heaven. For just as water may be led according to man's will, so was heaven and earth man's material for spiritual and bodily creatures. Afterwards God said with eternal word, that is, with His blessed Son: Let there be light, and immediately there was light, that is to say angel natures, which are spiritual lights, to both themselves see and light others. Now God knew that the light was good because there were evil angels for darkness. And our Lord separated the light from the darkness, that is to say, the good angels from the evil, and called the light day and the darkness night."

Exodus, Chap. 8.

"Our Lord spake unto Moses: Go in before Pharaoh the King and speak to him, Thus saith our Lord: Let my people go, or I shall plague the land of Egypt with so many frogs that they shall fill thy bed, and thy fields, and thy provision shed, and all thy house, and all thy men, and thy people over the land of Egypt."

Leviticus, Chap. 26.

"Idol and the likeness of idols ye shall not at all make. Go ye forth toward my commandments and keep them and do them. Then shall I give you rain from heaven according to its time, and the earth shall bring forth its flowers, and the trees shall be filled with fruit, so that every one threshes the

grain, and thy vineyard shall be ready and shall demand its seed of thee."

The paraphrastic translation of the Pentateuch of which the above translated excerpts are examples dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century. It is preceded by an interesting historical and exegetical introduction to the Old Testament from which the following is an excerpt:

"Of Shem, the son of Noah, came all they that live in Greece and Jorsalaland, in Chaldea, India and in Blomannaland and in Tartar land and in Russia, and that part of the world is called Asia and is perhaps half of the world. Of Japhet came all that live in Sweden and Denmark and Norway and all the lands between the sea of Åland and the sea of Jorsala and between the Western sea and the Eastern and that part of the world is called Europe. And Isidorus a wise master and bishop of Spain says that all Europe is come from Gothland and Goth from Nagog, grandson of Japheth. Of Shem, the son of Noah, came all they that live and build northwest of the sea of Jorsala. And this part of the world is called Africa.

The Chaldeans were idolaters and considered fire to be God and because the brothers Abraham and Aram did not give fire divine honor the Chaldeans cast them both to Baal and burned Aram to death, but Abraham escaped from Baal with the help of God. Nicolaus Damascenus says that Abraham was later king in Damascus and one can see there where his palace was.

Heathen men did not know the true God and found the spheres of the heavens powerful over the earth, the one close to the other. Then they thought that no one was a higher God than the spheres of heaven and worshipped them each one according to its name as the highest God, and sanctified each day to its God, and called the first day which is Saturday, Dies Saturni, and the Germans still call it "Soet" day. And another day, Dies Solis, which we still call Sunday in our ancient tongue, as the Germans and English still call it."

Many writers tell of a Swedish Bible during the time of Birgitta and express the belief that this was a translation of the

entire Bible. King Magnus Eriksson is said to have possessed one about 1340 and it was presumably a gift of Birgitta to her king. This translation is ascribed by early writers to Birgitta's Confessor, the Canon of Linköping, Magister Mattias, who died in 1350. Later writers do not believe that this was a translation of the whole Bible.

A translation of Joshua is attributed to Nikolaus Ragvaldi, died 1514. The following is a specimen from Chapter 9:

"Three days after this consummated peace it was learned among the people that a nation was living right near them in the land which was promised them. And Israel disbanded its camp and on the third day pitched its camp close upon their cities, which are named Gibeon Chephira."

In the following extract from Judges, attributed also to Ragvaldi, the translator has given us a rendering which does not differ materially from our present day text:

"After Abimelech's death arose a lord in Israel whose name was Tola, son of Puah, a man of Issachar, who lived in the city of Shamir, in Ephraim's hill country. And he was judge over Israel twenty years and three years thereto and died and was buried in the city of Shamir. After him came a lord called Jair the Gileadite."

The following translations of portions of the New Testament are still preserved in the libraries of Sweden.

The Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:9-13, is preserved in the library of Uppsala University. It reads as follows:

"Fadher war i himriki hoelecht hauis dit namn. til kom os dit rike. warde din wili haer i iordhriki swa sum han warder i himiriki. wart daglict bröd gif os i dagh. oc firilaat os ware mis gerningæ swa sum vi firilaatum dem sum brutlike æru wider os. oc lat os æi ledhes i frestelse. utan frælse os af illu. Amen."

A literal translation would read as follows: "Father our in the kingdom of heaven, holy be thy name, come to us thy kingdom, be thy will here in the kingdom of earth as it is in the kingdom of heaven, our daily bread give us today, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who are guilty against us,

and let us never be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

This rendering of the Lord's Prayer is from the early part of the fourteenth century. We notice that in the second petition the word "us" is added. Luther later on uses the same order of words in the third petition as is here used, as do also the Swedish translations from 1526 to 1618. In the Bible of Carl XII, 1703, the order was changed. The order of words in the fourth petition corresponds with Luther and with the Swedish rendering of 1883. The translations from 1526 to 1703 read: "give us this day our daily bread." *Debila* in the fifth petition is rendered by *misgerningæ*, "misdeeds," but in the following translations it is rendered by *skulder*, "debts." The doxology is omitted.

It is interesting to compare the above with the following version of the Lord's Prayer from the first half of the fourteenth century in England, which we quote from "Specimens of Early English" by Morris and Skeat, Part II, p. 105:

Vadre oure thet art ine heuenes, y-halged by thi name. cominde thi riche. (*Kingdom*, Ger. *Reich*). y-worthe thi wil as ine heuene: and ine erthe. bread oure echedayes: yef ous to day. and uorlet ous (*let alone*) oure yeldinges: ase and we uorleteth oure yelderes (*debts, debtors—yielders*). and ne ous led nagt: into uondinge (*temptation*). ac vri ous vram queade (*evil*) zuo by bit.

Apostla Gerningar, Actus Apostolorum, a codex dating back to 1385 is preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm. This is edited by Klemming in "Klosterläsning," Stockholm, 1877-78.

This translation is very free. It is enlarged by explanations and additions that have no counterpart in the text, and here and there it is abridged to such an extent that several chapters consist of only a few lines. It is divided into chapters except at the middle and at the end of the book, but it is not divided into paragraphs and verses.

It is remarkable that this translation is comparatively free from Latinisms. Even proper nouns are in some instances translated, as for instance *Iustus*, which is rendered *Rätuis* or

Just. Latinisms nevertheless occur, such as *Apostolus*, *Discipulus*, *Affattenis appeler* and *Boniportus*. Glosses occur here and there. This translation of Acts has a lengthy appendix, a 29th chapter, which tells about the work and death of Peter and Paul, and which bears the unmistakable stamp of the saint legend. Speeches and travel descriptions are greatly abbreviated but the miracles in Acts have evidently interested the translator for he does not eliminate them.

A translation of Judith, Esther, Ruth, and 1 and 2 Maccabees was made by Jöns Budde of the cloister of Nådendal, a Finnish cloister affiliated with Vadstena. This translation which follows the Vulgate faithfully was made in 1484. The choice of books is significant indicating that the nuns were much interested in reading about the heroines of the Bible.

The book of Revelation was translated toward the close of the 15th century. The manuscript is preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm. All that we know of the translator is that he was a Birgittian and that he executed his work in Vadstena. The book has a prologue, *Prologus in apocalipsis*, whereby it is dedicated to "the most beloved sisters in God," the Vadstena nuns, with the information that the book is very "dark" and impossible for the natural mind to understand.

Many Latinisms occur. Sometimes the Latin words are not translated, for instance, *sanctus*, *in secula seculorum*, *seniores*, *archa testamenti*, *dyabolus*, *per stadia mille sex centa*, etc. Sometimes the Latin words are followed by translations, as for instance: *Calcilum candidum*, *hwitan sten*, *white stone*; *hec est mors secunda*, *Thzta är annar dödhen*, *this is the second death*.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1526

During the later centuries of the Middle Ages many Swedes who sought higher learning visited foreign universities. Olaus Petri, son of a smith in Örebro, went to Wittenberg in 1516 where he heard Luther and Melancthon lecture, and was present when Luther nailed his theses to the church door in Wittenberg. Upon his return in 1519 he was appointed canon in Strängnäs and began to lecture on the Old and New Testaments to

students and others who came to hear him. The "archdiakonus" in Strängnäs chapter, Laurentius Andreæ, became interested in Olaus and his teaching. The archdeacon became the young man's pupil and was soon won for the Reformation. The king, Gustavus Vasa, who had freed the land from oppression under the Danish king, Christian, and had ascended the throne June 6, 1523, sought information of Laurentius Andreæ concerning the new teaching and soon became its ardent supporter. He appointed Andreæ Chancellor and took him to Stockholm. Olaus Petri was also called thither and preached in the cathedral where he was sometimes disturbed by the throwing of stones, but more often met with high approbation from the great multitudes that came to hear him.

The king now put the Catholic clergy to a severe test. Luther's adherents constantly referred to the Bible and desired that the people themselves might be enabled to "examine the scriptures whether these things were so." The pre-Reformation translations were, as we have seen, fragmentary and for all practical purposes unknown. The king turned to the Archbishop in Uppsala, Johannes Magnus, with the command that the prelates of the church provide for a translation of the New Testament. The Archbishop did not relish the commission but could not but accede to the wishes of his king. He was well aware that but few of the clergy could preach and that there were those among them who could not read, much less understand their Bible. He issued a circular letter June 4, 1525, to the various dioceses and monastic orders of the kingdom assigning a section of the New Testament to each. The assignments were as follows: Skara diocese, Luke and Galatians; Strängnäs, John and Ephesians; Westerås, Acts; Växiö, Philippians and Colossians; Åbo, Thessalonians and Timothy; the Dominicans, Titus and Hebrews; the Franciscans, James and Jude; the Birgittians, Epistles of Peter and John; the Carthusians, Revelation. The letter stipulated that all should send delegates to Uppsala on September tenth of the same year to examine and complete the whole.

Needless to say the work was never completed. In Alvastra and Warnhem, where the cloisters were well supplied with

books, there was not a single monk who could take part in the work. The bishop of Linköping, Hans Brask, the preëminent exponent of Rome in Sweden, criticized the archbishop severely for this step since by it "Luther's doctrine would be greatly furthered." He argued that such translations have occasioned many heresies; one such had caused the apostasy of the Waldensians; many harmful interpretations of the Bible would result; the gospels for the entire year were translated into Danish, and since the two languages were so similar, they should suffice for the Swedish church.

At this juncture it was probably Olaus Petri who undertook the translation of the New Testament on instructions from the king. In his labors he was undoubtedly assisted by various coadjutors. Laurentius Andreae is sometimes mentioned as the translator, and he seems to have a real though undefined share in the work. The fact is that we know very little about the prehistory of this translation, at least nothing with certainty. The work itself gives no clue to who the translator was or who had supervision over the work of translation. Tradition has preserved the two above mentioned names: Laurentius Andreae and Olaus Petri. Early writers took for granted that Andreae was the translator. Lönbom does not give Olaus Petri the least credit for the work. He claims that the great Reformer was instrumental in caring only for the printing of the volume. Wieselgren also credits Andreae for the work. In 1891 Henrik Schück made extensive researches and caused the general opinion to swing over in favor of Olaus Petri. More recently A. Lindquist, on the basis of research in the language of the translation, places Andreae in the leading place. The great majority of writers of the present day are nevertheless agreed that to Olaus Petri is due the credit for this work.

Whoever the translator was there is no doubt that he took the German New Testament of Luther as a pattern and in great measure depended on it. (Which edition of Luther he used has not yet been established.) A very minute examination (by E. Stave, 1893) makes it clear that the translator used also other aids in large measure and with good judgment, which, for that matter, is plainly stated in the last words of the preface:

"The translator has seen many books and many lectures of teachers." He has thus doubtless used the third edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament, 1522, or a copy of it. He has consulted the Greek text, but above all the Latin translation of Erasmus, printed together with the original text. This seems to have had a remarkably great importance to the Swedish translator. In many instances he fearlessly follows Erasmus as against Luther, when he finds that the former gives a better rendering and more faithful to the text. The Vulgate exerts an influence but in far less degree than the above.

Luther's well known division of the New Testament into two sections, separating Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation from the remaining books is not followed. In the preface, which is a revision of that of Luther no doubt is expressed as to the authenticity of James. The passage, 1 John 5:7,8, omitted by Luther, is included in this translation as it is in that of Tyndale.

The preface tells us that the New Testament was first written in the Greek language with the exception of Matthew and Hebrews, which books were probably written in Hebrew. Thereafter the Bible in Latin had been introduced into the land and the writer urges the priests to learn this language even though Paul in 1 Tim. 3 does not mention knowledge of Latin among the attributes a priest should have. The translator had undertaken the work in order that "poor simple clerics, who know little Latin and are inexperienced in the Scriptures, as well as other Christians who can read, may at least have the text as it is given by the evangelists and apostles." He deplors the fact that so many Greek and Latin words have no equivalent in Swedish and explains the new words introduced.

The work contains numerous marginal interpretations in the spirit of the Reformation. Viz., Matt. 23:2 . . . "Moses' seat. The teaching of Moses was God's word. Therefore no one is said to sit upon Moses' seat, except those who teach the word of God, as Theophilactus says, and when they do this we are in duty bound to obey them, as Christ here commands. When they teach otherwise, especially when the commandments of God are thereby despised, we are not in duty bound to obey them." Rom. 3:31 . . . "We establish the law. In this manner the

law is established or fulfilled, through faith and with faith man is justified and thereafter of a good heart does what the law demands." 1 Cor. 16:22, *Ban* in Swedish, *Anathema* in Greek, *Maharan* in Hebrew is all the same. . . . The Apocalypse has no marginal interpretations.

This translation of 1526 exerted a great influence on later editions of the Swedish Bible. From the viewpoint of language the translation is excellent, especially as compared with contemporary usage of the Swedish language. There are to be sure many constructions that are not Swedish and many words derived from the German, but the merits far outweigh the deficiencies.

THE GUSTAF VASA BIBLE OF 1541

This "editio princeps" of the Swedish Bible, known as "Gustaf Vasas Bibel," is ascribed to Laurentius Petri, Archbishop of Uppsala, a younger brother of Olaus Petri, to whom he stood in about the same relation as Melancthon to Luther. Laurentius Petri performed the work of translation in collaboration with Olaus Petri, Laurentius Andreæ and other colleagues. In 1536 he published the Psalter and in 1541 had completed and printed the entire Bible, including the Apocrypha.

The preface stated that Luther had been followed more than the Vulgate. The New Testament is a thorough revision of that of 1526, amounting practically to a new translation and was based chiefly on the New Testament of Luther's Bible of 1534 with reference to Erasmus' Latin version, and (in a less degree than before) to the Vulgate, while the whole was compared with Erasmus' Greek text. In various ways the New Testament in this Bible is conformed more closely than the New Testament of 1526 to Luther's work.

The dates 1540 and 1541 appear in different parts of the volume.

Although this version was repeatedly revised, it remained in substance the Bible accepted in Sweden until recent times, just as the authorized version in England still bears ample testimony to the work of Tyndale.

The order of the books follows that given in Luther's Bible of 1534.

The title to the Apocrypha reads as follows: "Apocrypha. That is, books which are not found in the Hebrew Bible and for that reason not reckoned the same as the other books in Holy Scriptures, and yet useful to read."

In the list of books of the New Testament the four books, Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation are separated from the remainder and are not included in the numeration which distinguished the other books.

This Bible was printed under the supervision of Laurentius Petri at Uppsala by George (Jurgen) Rickolff, who had been summoned from Lübeck for this purpose. The name of the printer does not occur on the title page, but at the end of the New Testament we read: "Printed in Uppsala by Georgen Rickolff 1541."

By a royal ordinance a "tunna" (about four bushels) of corn was deducted from the tithe of every parish to help towards the cost of publication. These contributions became known as "Bibeltryckstunnan," (i.e., *Bible-printing-bushels*). A copy was provided for every church throughout the country.

Of this first edition of the Swedish Bible there are sixteen known copies in the United States.

THE BIBLE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, 1618

The reign of John III was notable for a reaction toward Catholicism. The king desired to introduce a new liturgy and needed a new edition of the Bible for this purpose. His opponent, Duke Carl of Södermanland, later Carl IX, attempted to bring about a translation of Piscator's Swiss-Reformed version. Neither of these attempts was realized.

In 1600 Carl appointed a committee, consisting of Petrus Jonæ (sometimes called Helsingus) and three other scholars to improve on the old translation and prepare a new edition of the Bible. They were directed, not only to collate it with Luther's version, but to *confirm* and *correct* the translation by comparison with the *Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts*. The Bishop himself was appointed to deal with the Latin, Matthias Molitæus with the Hebrew, Olaus Martini with the Greek, and a certain Nicolaus (probably Nicolaus Petri) with the Swedish. The commission

met at Strängnäs under presidency of the Bishop, and the results of their work were known as *Observationes Strengnensis*. The Riksdag at Stockholm in 1602 resolved that a Bible based on these should be printed at once, but for various reasons the resolution was never carried out, and the commissioners had all died before the death of Carl IX.

In 1615, when the famous Gustavus Adolphus was but twenty years old, he appointed a new commission to translate the Bible, with the court chaplain, Johannes Rudbeckius, who later became Bishop of Wästerås, as chairman. He was assisted by three or four other scholars. Certain books of the Bible were allotted to each member for revision and the committee was instructed to *diligently correct the former translation comparing it also with the Septuagint*. The new Bible should conform to the wording of the Hebrew and Greek.

The lack of Bibles, however, was so great that the old translation had to suffice, speedy printing being of greater importance than revision. Lönbom writes: "Nothing was altered in the text, except a few syllables, which were improved to correspond to the mode of writing of that time, but in the printing changes were made for the better, which were lacking in the former edition." These improvements, besides those in orthography, were the introduction of verse-numbers, chapter-headings, marginal- and subject-headings, "register," i.e., index, woodcuts, maps, etc. The prologues to some of the books are also altered. The volume was printed by Olof Oloffson. The editing was entrusted to J. Rudbeckius, assisted by Johannes Botvidi, chaplain in ordinary to the king, and by Johannes Lenceus, professor of theology at Uppsala.

The order of books remains the same as in the Bible of 1541. In a list of the books of the Bible, the four books, Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation are placed under a distinct heading: "Apocr. New Testament," and are numbered 1-4, i.e. separately from the other books. The heading "Apocr. New Testament," in this connection occurs in many seventeenth century editions.

Many reprints of this Bible of 1618 were made, the most important of which are the following:

1622 by a Lübeck publisher. At the request of the Swedish printers Gustavus Adolphus prohibited the importation of this Bible into Sweden.

1655, Charles X Bible. The title states that it is "effter Doct. Martini Lutheri version," but there has been no revision of the text.

THE BIBLE OF CARL XII, 1703

In 1680 J. Gezelius mooted the question of a proper revision of the Bible, and in 1691 Carl XI appointed a commission with instructions to revise the old Bible but not to attempt a new translation. The commission was instructed to do the work thoroughly with reference to the original texts, the *Observationes Strengnenses*, and Luther's last revision. The work, however, was not definitely completed in 1697 when the king died.

In November, 1697, Carl XII ordered the work to be accelerated. But in 1698 the plan of a thoroughgoing revision was abandoned, as it proved too protracted in execution, and Eric Benzeliu, then Bishop of Strängnäs, and afterward Archbishop of Uppsala, who had been president of the committee of revisers, was appointed by royal ordinance to take charge of a new edition of the Bible, which appeared in 1703.

For this Bible former editions were collated and the chapter-headings, notes, marginal matter, etc., were revised, but very few changes were made in the text. It was much more carefully printed than its predecessors and became the standard edition of the Swedish Bible.

Every church in Sweden had to contribute to the expenses of this edition and received a copy of the Bible.

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of James are here restored to their usual places in the order of the books and the prefaces to these epistles are replaced by short prefaces by the editor.

This Bible of 1703 became the standard for later editions and was many times reprinted during the eighteenth century. It contains in its preface a history of the Bible in Sweden up to that time, written by Archbishop Benzeliu.

THE WORK OF THE BIBLE COMMISSION,* 1773-1917

On the 18th day of May, 1773, Gustaf III appointed a royal commission, consisting originally of twenty-one scholars, to prepare a revision of the Bible, intended to give the exact sense of the original text in pure and idiomatic Swedish. Bishop Beronius, the chairman, died two years later and was succeeded on the commission by the Bishop of Åbo, Karl Fredrik Menander. The universities in Uppsala and Lund were represented by only five members of the theological faculties, the former institution having three members on the commission and the latter two. The commission did not meet more than seventeen times during the next twenty-nine years. The revision of the separate books of Scriptures was parceled out among the members and the results were issued by installments, beginning in 1774. The New Testament was finished in 1780 and in 1793 the revised Bible appeared complete in a tentative edition (*Proföfversättning*). The major portion of the work was performed by Karl Aurevillius, professor in Oriental languages, and John Floderus, professor in Greek at Uppsala. On account of its rationalizing tendency and its paraphrastic and modernized style, the version was rejected at the bicentenary festival of the Swedish Church celebrated at Uppsala in 1793.

Wieselgren calls attention to the following renderings in this edition:

Matt. 7:23: "I never acknowledged you as mine."

Matt. 16:22: "May God mercifully preserve thee from this."

Matt. 24:38: "When Noah went into the vessel."

1 Cor. 11:10: "Because the angels do so."

A partly new commission was now organized, consisting almost exclusively of theologians, with Archbishop Lindblom as chairman. The directive forces in this new body were professors Samuel Ödman and Johan Tingstadius. The former is said to have used a clarifying and the latter a beautifying method in the work of translation. In 1816 a new "Proföf-

* For the following outline of the work of the Commission I am indebted to Professor S. G. Youngert of Augustana Theological Seminary, in the Augustana Theological Quarterly, X, 129 ff., 1908.

versättning" of the New Testament was published in large part due to the work and energy of Ödman, which nevertheless met with the same fate as that of 1793, i.e., it failed to secure public acceptance, being strenuously opposed by J. O. Wallin, Archbishop of Uppsala. This translation of 1816 was similar to that of 1780 although somewhat less paraphrastic. Tingstadius later published translations of Old Testament poetry, Isaiah and the minor prophets.

In Matthew 1:18 the Holy Ghost is called "The Almighty Power of the Highest," and Psalm 18:1 is rendered as follows: "With the tenderest feelings of the heart do I revere thee, Lord."

Gradually the commission assumed an altered aspect as new men entered and new principles were adopted. In 1837 Prof. Per Sjöbring published, in the name of the commission, the major portion of the Old Testament, and in the same manner Dean Johan Thorsander published a "Proföfversättning" of the New Testament. This we can say concludes the first period in the endeavors of the Bible Commission.

In 1841 the commission was reorganized and chiefly through the meritorious efforts of E. A. Knös a translation of the New Testament appeared in 1853, which in revised form was published again in 1861. This was not in reality a new translation but rather the previous one with the most necessary changes, lacking entirely any change in text. The aim of the commission was to retain as far as possible the form and spirit, not only of the original texts, but also of the older Swedish versions. This translation was laid before the Church Convocation of 1868, but was remitted to the commission for further revision.

The commission now consisted of Deans C. A. Thorén and H. M. Melin and the learned Orientalist Rector H. G. Lindgren. This was a splendid committee and it worked with such energy that it was possible to publish a new translation in 1873, for which the greatest credit is doubtless due Dean Melin. This was the most critical and the best translation to date. Great discoveries within the province of the New Testament text were made just at this time and a scholar of the type of H. M.

Melin could not disregard these finds. In places the original was treated with almost too great boldness. Prof. S. G. Youngert has indicated an interesting point in this translation. In Matt. 27:49, 50 we read as follows: "And the rest said, Let be: let us see whether Elijah cometh to save him. And another took a spear and pierced his side, and there came out water and blood. And Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and yielded up his spirit." According to this Jesus died as the result of the thrust of a spear. This was, to say the least, a bold reconstruction of the text, even though the new material gave occasion for such a reading.

This translation was remitted back to the commission which in 1877 published a new translation built on a very conservative basis and vastly different from the former.

Work on the Old Testament progressed to such an extent that in 1878 a new revision of the tentative translation of 1864-68 was ready. This revision was quite thorough and, although it received much praise and was published in hundreds of thousands of copies, was nevertheless not accepted.

Work on the old Testament was now suspended for a time and the commission set to work with redoubled energy on the New Testament. Such progress was made that the members, Archbishop A. N. Sundberg, Dean C. A. Thorén and Prof. M. Johanson, later bishop in Hernösand, with bishops G. D. Björck and P. Sjöbring and Prof. K. Cavallin as revisory committee could publish a new revision as early as 1882. The translation was approved by the Church Convocation of 1883 with but slight changes and in the next month was authorized by the king to be used "in public instruction in church and school," but with the understanding that it should be subject to further revision before final acceptance, which preferably should be simultaneous with the adoption of a translation of the Old Testament, when such a translation might be ready and approved.

This version of the New Testament has been very widely circulated and has passed into common use. It is the translation used today by people of Swedish descent in America, who still

read the Bible in the language of their fathers. From the date of its authorization it is sometimes called the version of 1883.

Work on the Old Testament was now resumed with energy and along the same lines as that on the New. An altogether new translation was made with very little regard for that of 1878. This new work was published in pamphlets during the years 1893-98 and received much praise but was nevertheless sent back to the commission for further revision. The work proceeded, carried on by the same committee that presented the preceding attempt, which committee consisted of the following: Archbishop A. N. Sundberg and Professors E. Tegnér and Waldemar Rudin. For the New Testament the committee finally came to consist of Professors Tegnér and Rudin, Dean J. Personne and Lektor Knös.

The translation of the Old Testament again revised, was accepted in 1903, as was the New Testament in 1883 "for use in instruction in church and school." The Standard Edition (*Normalupplagan*) thus accepted came from the press in 1904.

Finally in December, 1907, the Bible Commission had completed, not a revision of the former, but an entirely new translation. The Church Convocation of 1908 examined this version and recommended that a committee of four should be appointed to collaborate with the commission in preparing a revision of it, to be published if possible before 1909. The king therefore authorized the appointment of the following: J. A. Ekman, Archbishop of Uppsala, N. J. O. Lindström, Bishop of Växiö, A. H. Ljunghoff, Curate of Ausås, and A. Edman to assist the commission in preparing a revised edition. This revision came from the press in 1912.

The Church Convocation of 1915 accepted the translation as revised. The adoption of it was nevertheless not for immediate obligatory use in the Church of Sweden, but with the following provisions: (1) that minor changes may be made until 1917, (2) that the old Bible may be used for twenty years.

In October 1917, when Sweden was celebrating the Quadricentennial of the Reformation, King Gustaf V authorized this new Swedish Bible.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE 1917 SWEDISH NEW TESTAMENT

The fundamental principle upon which the Swedish Bible Commission has worked is as follows: *A translation into present day Swedish, faithful to the text, and with as much consideration as possible for the old Church Bible.*

In our examination of this translation on the basis of these three points we shall reverse the order and consider

I

Consideration for the Old Church Bible

Under this first heading we shall mention but a few instances.

The commission has retained the old Latin order of the initial words of the Lord's Prayer, *Pater Noster, Fader Vår*.

Another instance of this deference is the retention of the expressions "bättring" and "göra bättring." "Metanoia" means "change of mind," Swedish "sinnesändring."

It was doubtless this same deferential consideration for the old Church Bible and for the sacred narrative itself that induced the translators to allow the passages, Luke 22:43,44 and 23:34 to remain in the text. The MSS indicate that these verses were probably not part of the original text.

In this connection we might mention also John 1:18. The rendering, "The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father," has been retained, although many very ancient authorities read, "The only begotten God, who is etc."

In Ephesians 1:1 the words "in Ephesus," are lacking in the oldest and most important manuscripts and there are other reasons which could be cited against their genuineness, but the Swedish translators have retained the words out of deference to tradition.

Not a few words which are seldom or never used in every day speech are retained out of deference to the old biblical language. We might mention such substantives as *ulv* (instead of *varg*), *hane* (not *tupp*), *tordön* (not *åska*), *ljungeld* (not *blixt*), *örtagård*, *örtagårdsman* (when referring to Gethsemane and the Golgatha-grave, on the other hand *trädgård* in Luke 13:19 and in the Old Testament), *åkerman* (not *bonde*), *krigsman* (not *soldat*), *byggningsman*, *hövitsman*, *krigshärhövitsman*, *konunga-*

son, *-dotter* (not *prins*, *prinsessa*), *konungshus* (*palats* is also used), *lekamen* (only with reference to the Lord's Supper, otherwise *kropp*). Preference is given also to more dignified and older verbs. *Begynna*, *förgäta*, *tillstädja* are used in preference to the more common *börja*, *glömma*, *tillåta*. The adverb *allenast* is used in preference to *endast*, *blott*, etc.

This deference for the old is nevertheless not carried too far. Words that are so obsolete as to be difficult to understand do not occur. No unnecessary obstacles to the complete understanding of the content of the Bible are raised.

II

Faithfulness to the Text

The headings of the various books are given in simple form, viz.: "Evangelium enligt Matteus," "Evangelium enligt Markus," etc. The manuscripts have only "Kata Matheion," "Kata Markon," etc., but the translators have found it advisable to add "Evangelium" before "enligt." The Latin possessive ending "i" is more and more passing out of the Swedish language. In the old translations we read: "Pauli bref till Romarne," "Petri första bref," etc., but this new translation has: "Paulus' bref till Romarna," "Petrus' första bref," etc. The title *saint* for which there is no authority in the MSS. was used in the old Swedish versions as well as the old English. The Swedish Bible nevertheless was more consistent than the Authorized Version, for it gave this epithet of honor not only to the authors of the Gospels, but also to Paul, Peter, etc.

The order of the books is not changed. It is the same as in the American Revised Version.

A radical departure from the previous translations is the manner in which the persons of the Trinity were designated in the trial translation of 1907, the so-called "Proföfversättning."

Father (the heavenly Father) was not capitalized as in all former Swedish translations and all English versions. It was written *himmelske fader* (Mt. 5:45,48; 6:14,26, etc.). The capital *F* has been restored in the Bible of 1917.

Guds Son (1883), *the Son of God* (R.V.) was written *Guds son*, but has been changed to *Guds Son* in the accepted Bible.

In every instance in which *pneuma hagion* has the definite article it is rendered, *den Helige Ande*, viz. (Mt. 12:32, 28:19, etc.), but wherever the definite article is lacking it is written, *helig ande*, as for instance in Mt. 1:18,20; 3:11, etc. Thus we read about John the Baptist in Lk. 1:15 that he shall be filled with *holy spirit* and not as in N.U. and R.V. *the Holy Spirit*. Matthew tells us in 1:18 that Mary was found of child with *holy spirit*, and in 3:11 we read: "He shall baptize you in *holy spirit* and fire." This principle of distinction between the Spirit understood as a force or as a personal being the Bible as finally accepted has not changed. The Swedish translators are doubtless the first to institute this radical change.

The *helvete* (Hel's dwelling) of Norse mythology has given place to the biblical *Gehenna*. The word occurs in the following passages in the New Testament: Mt. 5:29,30; 10:28; 23:15,33; Mk. 9:43,45; Lk. 12:5; James 3:6. "*Gehenna of fire*" occurs in Mt. 5:22, 18:19 and Mk. 9:47. In each of these passages the word is rendered *Gehenna*. N.U. and R.V. render *hell* in each instance although the latter has the marginal note "Gr. *Gehenna*."

The word "*aides*" is everywhere rendered "*dödsriket*," "the kingdom or realm of death," (Mt. 11:23, 16:18, Lk. 10:15, 16:23; Acts 2:27,31; Rev. 1:18, 6:8, 20:13). This agrees with N.U. with the exception of Mt. 11:23 and Lk. 10:13 (concerning Capernaum) where N.U. has *afgrunden*, *the abyss*. R.V. renders *Hades*.

The expression "*sitta till bords*," "sit at meat or table" in Lk. 7:37, 1 Cor. 8:10, etc., is now correctly rendered "*ligga till bords*," "recline at table." The former rendering makes it impossible to understand how John could lean on Jesus' bosom, or how the sinful woman in the house of Simon the Pharisee could wet his feet with her tears and anoint them with ointment.

The word "*paraklaitos*," which is peculiar to the Johannine writings, was rendered "*hugsvalare*," "comforter," in all previous Swedish translations. This rendering has now been exchanged for "*hjälpare*," "helper," and this change is fully

warranted. Thayer has shown that Philo uses the word in the sense of "defensor," but also in the wider meaning "helper" in general. In Philo the word does not occur in the sense of "comforter" and this meaning is not demanded by the context anywhere in the New Testament. In 1 John 2:1 the rendering is "förespråkare," "Fürsprecher."

The words "aion" and "aionios" appear to have caused the Swedish translators not a little perplexity. They have recognized that the former word does not mean *eternity* nor the latter *eternal* in the usual meaning of unending existence, but rather "tidsålder," "Zeitalter." The Greek expresses the conception of eternity by "aion ton aionion." The commission has retained the rendering "evigheternas evigheter," R.V. "for ever and ever," but translates "aion" *tidsålder*, or as an exception *tid*, Mt. 28:20.

The words "anthropos" and "gune" when vocative are rendered variously according to the context and the situation. When Jesus addresses his mother at the wedding feast in Cana (Jn. 2:4) and on the cross (Jn. 19:26 "gunai" is rendered *mother*, but on the other hand when he speaks to Mary from Magdala (Jn. 20:13,15) it is rendered *woman*. The explanation of this doubtless lies in the fact that "gune" as a word of address at that time was equally as tender as our *mother*. The history of Jesus shows us plainly that as time went on he became estranged from his nearest relatives, but we have not the slightest indication that he was ever lacking in filial respect to his mother. It would be still clearer that the Swedish translators have rightly understood the word if they had punctuated differently and slightly changed the order of words in the sentence. The rendering could be, "Let me be; mother, my hour is not yet come," instead of "Let me be, mother; my hour is not yet come." In the Greek "gunai" stands, not as in Swedish and English, first, but last, "Ti emoi kai soi, gunai."

"Anthropos" when used in friendly address (Lk. 5:20) is rendered "min vän= my friend." In reprimand the word is rendered variously with appropriate turns; (*Min vän*), Luke 12:14; (*No, I am not*), Lk. 22:58, or else omitted entirely as in Lk. 22:60, which is rendered: "I do not understand what you

mean." In N.U. the word was rendered "människa = Mensch" in each of the above instances. It is not correct Swedish to use the word "människa" in addressing a person. In translation one has equally as great obligations toward the language *into* which the translation is made as to that *from* which it is made. This basic rule the translators have not overlooked. The above two words have different meanings in the Greek when occurring in the vocative, according to the context and the cadence of the voice. These various shades of meaning ought if possible to be brought out in translation and the Swedish translators have endeavored to do so.

Another change which exemplifies the desire of the Swedish translators to be as faithful as possible to the Greek is to be found in the rendering of the utterance of Pilate (John 19:5), "Idou ho anthropos." What the Church has read into Pilate's words is one thing, and what Pilate really said and meant is another. Luther's translation: "Sehet, welch ein Mensch," comes nearer the truth of the expression than later translations do. Anyone who reads this passage without any preconceived notions and reflects upon it should understand that when Pilate led Jesus out and placed him before his accusers, clad in the tattered robe of purple and with the crown of thorns upon his head, this was a final appeal to arouse their sympathies, their better feelings. He points his finger at Jesus and says: "Idou ho anthropos"—"See the man." The Swedish translation rendered: "See this man." In the 1912 edition this was changed to read: "See, here is the man," and now we read in the accepted Bible: "See the man."

Let us now consider some of the technical terms occurring in the New Testament. R.V. translates terms denoting coins as nearly as possible into their English equivalents, viz.: "assarion," *penny*; "lepton," *mite*; "kodrantes," *farthing*; "denarion," *shilling* and *denarius*; "stater," *shekel*; "didrakmon," *half-shekel*; "mna," *pound*; "talanton," *talent*.

Since payments were made by weighing out the metals and since it is impossible to give the exact equivalents of biblical coins in either English or Swedish the plan of the Swedish translators to render into more general terms seems to be the

best that can be adopted. The above terms denoting coins are translated as follows in this Swedish version: "assarion, lepton and kodrantes," *mite*; "denarion," *silver coin*; *day's wage* and *coin*; "stater," *silver-coin*; "didrakmon," *temple-tax*; "talanton" and "mna" are both rendered by *pound*. Footnotes refer the reader to the appended word list where these words are fully explained and the corresponding values given. The words are further explained in an appended list of measures, weights and coins.

Weights and measures are rendered as follows: "saton," *skäppa*=Ger. *Scheffel*; "batos," *cask*; "koros," *barrel*; "metretes" is rendered by a combination of Hebrew and Swedish, *batmått*=*bath-measure*.

Other technical terms and their renderings are as follows: "anthupatos," *landshöfding*=Ger. *Landeshauptmann*, (A.V. *deputy*, R.V. *proconsul*, N.U. *ståthållare*=Ger. *Statthalter*). "Tetrarkes," *landsfurste*=Ger. *Landesfürst* (A.V. *tetrarch*, likewise R.V. and N.U.). "Asiarkes," *asiarch*. "Spekoulator," *drabant*=*a soldier of the guard*, as in R.V. and N.U., whereas A.V. has *executioner*.

(To be continued)

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AN ORIENTAL SOURCE OF THE ICELANDIC VERSION OF *GODFATHER DEATH*

The Icelandic version of *Godfather Death*, entitled *Der Königssohn und der Tod*,¹ is the oldest known mediaeval variant of this Märchen. Written down in the Old Norse language some time during the first half of the fourteenth century, it is doubtless one or two centuries older, being derived from a Latin text which has not come down to us but which certainly existed in Mediaeval France, where Jón Halldórsson studied and collected his materials.

Reading the Icelandic text, one is struck by the different character of the opening of the story as compared with the other historical and modern versions of this fairy tale type.²

A powerful king, so the story runs, seeks a wise master to instruct his young son in unknown lore. After some time a stranger presents himself, an old man of gloomy appearance (he reminds one of the old war-god Othin himself), and offers to teach the prince, on condition that the king would prepare for him and his pupil a house in the forest, with provisions for a full year, so that they will not be disturbed by anybody or anything. The king, overjoyed, complies with this request; the master sits down on the high-seat, his pupil at his feet, as humble as a child of low rank. In silence they both sit for a day, and two days, and an entire year. When the two are called to the king's castle, the monarch asks his son whether he would like to continue his lessons, to which he agrees. So the silent instruction is continued for another year and a third. Then the master tells the youth that for his patience, silence, and loyalty his name will be immortal. He further reveals himself as *Mors* and gives him the well-known advice how he may determine the outcome of a disease from the position of Death at the sick-bed.

This opening, which has little in common with the rest of the tale, certainly is an *hors d'œuvre*. What is its origin?

There is in a certain edition of the *Arabian Nights* not very well known in English-speaking countries³ a story which bears a striking resemblance to the text outlined above.

¹ H. Gering, *Islendak Aeventyri*, Halle, 1882-83, I, 204; II, 143; A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, p. 53.

² Bolte-Pölvka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, I, 377 ff.

³ J. C. Mardrus, *Le Livre des Mille nuits et une nuit*, Paris, s.d., XII, 9; cf. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VII, 169. On the work of Mardrus cf. Chauvin, IV, 108. An English translation has just been published (Dingwall-Rock, Ltd., New York).

A young and industrious fellow learns from a travelling merchant that a famous master lives in a foreign country, and he goes to see him. This wise man is a smith who, upon the request of the youth to teach him, merely replies by working his bellows. For ten years he goes on in this manner without either master or pupils (of whom he has a certain number) speaking a word. Whenever any one wishes to have a certain piece of information, he puts the question in writing and hands it to the master who, without reading it, either throws it into the fire or puts it in his turban. In the latter case the pupil finds the answer written on the wall of his cell, in golden characters, the same evening. When the ten years have elapsed, the master sends the youth back to his country, assuring him that now he knows the whole science of the world and of life, having acquired the virtue of patience.

The same tale has been preserved in Modern Egypt to this day. An Arabic text, published from oral tradition toward the end of the last century, reads as follows⁴:

A man has a most studious son who, after his father's death, is told by a friend of a certain wise and holy master in a far-off country. He immediately sets out to find that unknown teacher, who is a smith. After an uneventful journey he arrives at the smithy, makes his request, and is told to work the bellows. Years pass in silence. Whenever he or any other of the pupils has a question to ask he writes it on paper and hands it to the smith in the morning. Without reading it, the master either throws it into the fire or puts it in his turban. In the former case the question is not worth an answer. In the latter the pupil finds the answer written on his pillow in golden letters on the same evening. Having stayed at the smithy for twenty years, the youth is told by his master that he may now return home, having learned the science called patience.

The rest of the Egyptian story contains incidents which are of no direct concern for the problem under discussion.⁵

The points of contact between the two Oriental stories and the Norse text are so obvious that no commentary will be required. It should further be noted that, whereas the Oriental tales are complete in themselves, the object, i.e., the learning of patience, being attained (and in the Egyptian story even tested out), there is no connection whatever between the opening of the Icelandic tale and the remainder, which is the fairy tale of *Godfather Death*. This combination of the two themes

⁴ S. E. Yacoub Artin Pacha, *Contes populaires inédits de la vallée du Nil*, Paris, 1895, p. 131, No. 9: *La Patience*.

⁵ It is the motif of the three bits of advice, on which cf. Chauvin, VIII, 138; Wesselski, p. 219.

is therefore an artificial fusion and must be regarded as secondary.

It is safe to say that this fusion is not the work of Jón Halldórsson, who is known to have followed his models with the usual faithfulness of Norse translators and epitomists. It must then have taken place in France. I hope to bring out, in the near future, sufficient evidence to show that the tale of *Godfather Death* arose in that country, under the influence of the Dance of Death movement. The Oriental tale, too, must therefore have been known in France at that time, carried thither, no doubt, by clerks returning from the Holy Land.

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REVIEWS

INSTITUTE FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN HUMAN CULTURE. Series A, No. 1.
Four Introductory Lectures. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
1925. \$0.50.

The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has fortunately secured the Harvard University Press as American publisher of its monographs, which appear simultaneously in four European cities,—Oslo, Leipsic, Paris, London. Although the Institute germinated at a meeting of the Northern Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1917, six years passed before its first appearance as a publisher. Now, however, important volumes are tumbling rapidly from its press, bearing the names of Paul Vinogradoff, A. Meillet, Otto Jespersen, Moltke Moe, P. O. Bodding, Haakon Shetelig, and Kaarle Krohn.

This first volume of lectures presents the origin and aims of the Institute in a paper by the President, Dr. Fredrik Stang, Rector of the University of Oslo. The other three essays discuss the program of the Institute in various fields; Alf Sommerfelt the languages of the Caucasus; Knut Liestøl the comparative study of Folklore; and J. Qvigstad the problem of the culture of the Lapp. The three papers are written in French, English, and German respectively.

We learn that the offices of the Institute are in the Nobel Institute at Oslo, and its Board is entirely Norwegian. Its resources comprise the interest of two million kroner, contributed chiefly by the Norwegian Government and by the Municipality of Oslo. It is hoped that this fund will be multiplied by gifts from other countries, particularly America, when the international value of the researches of the Institute become apparent.

Dr. Stang explains that the incentives which impelled the new Institute into being were both political and scholarly. It was founded in war time, when European culture seemed to be disintegrating and even the coöperation of purely intellectual workers in different countries had broken down. There is a happy thought here. I remember a dinner to Dr. Bohr in New York in which he was called upon to say a word about the quantum theory. Instead he surprised his table companions by making a moving plea for the world community of scientists, that they be exempted from the restrictions of militant nationalism and be allowed to enjoy free fellowship and communion. May not one of the dreams of the new Institute be to neutralize scholarship and scholars in time of war so that the progress of real culture may go on uninterrupted even while the armed forces are helping to reduce excess population on the battlefield? No more idiocies like the stupid joint letter of the German professors which alienated American academicians from Germany early in the last war!

It is well that the above program emanates from a neutral country, seeking to provide a sanctuary for the work of international scholarship. If the Institute grows it cannot afford to continue narrowly Norwegian in control, and the statutes do permit the election of foreign members to the board.

There is one serious omission in Dr. Stang's announcement of the comparative studies that will come under the protection of the Institute. We fail to find any provision for psychology, the young science of the mechanics of human consciousness and conduct that has been picked up where the ancient Greeks left it and advanced so vigorously in the last quarter-century. No survey of comparative culture can now be complete without psychology. Indeed, the Institute has done well to lay greatest stress on language, the oral expression of culture, in the study of which a surer method has been developed than in other fields,—say ethnology or sociology,—and criticism is not likely to be so confusing. But psychology now lies behind language itself. Malinowski declares in his supplement to the recent pioneer study of the psychology of language by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (Macmillan, 1926), that "words must be treated only as symbols . . . the psychology of symbolic reference must serve as the basis of all science of language."

Lectures, researches, and publication are the three activities of the Institute. The culture of the Arctic races is the first subject to be investigated, the mental processes of the little peoples who circle the Pole. Next come the Caucasian languages, so important to Indo-European study.

And Moltke Moe is to be published at last; with prompt judgment the Institute has decided to bring out forthwith the collected works of the late Norwegian folklorist. In a year which I had the good fortune to spend in Northern Europe attempting to study the relation of certain unpublished Icelandic romances to Byzantine and Near-Eastern folklore, only two men, Schück of Upsala and Moltke Moe of Christiania shed the slightest light of sympathy upon this particular trail. My interview with Moltke Moe was to me a conversation on Mount Olympus,—or rather Aetna, for he erupted a volcanic torrent of pent-up information and speculation. The disarray of his library and his way of diving impulsively into a heap of books, the constant demands of his students preventing him from putting down his own results, reminded me of the dean of American modern philology, Professor Kittredge of Harvard. Alas! Moltke Moe could only refer me to stray papers published in uncatalogued newspapers and periodicals, to lectures and unpublished notes. Now, happily, all these scattered publications have been assembled, together with the notebooks of pupils and Moe's own scraps of paper, and published in a complete edition.

With these wise beginnings we may expect comparative humanism to be enriched abundantly from year to year by the publications of the Oslo Institute.

H. G. LEACH

New York, October 11, 1926



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THE HISTORY OF THE SWEDISH BIBLE

[Continued]

IS THE 1917 SWEDISH BIBLE PARAPHRASTIC?

A study of this translation brings out not only that the Commission has given the meaning of the Greek words and phrases with great accuracy but also that it has exhibited the sense of the Greek in Swedish of the present day. The languages differ so widely that it is impossible to do this without some circumlocution and additions here and there. The method of literal rendering cannot be permitted except to a very limited extent. When this method is used the translation becomes a parody on the language into which it is made and the worst is that the original, the New Testament itself, is parodied in the eyes and ears of those who read it. This is the case with the translation of Lektor Waldenstrom, whose slavish literalism brings his work to the point of absurdity.

These correct and sound principles of translation are stigmatized with the word *paraphrase*. Dr. Welldon, in the preface (p. vii) to his masterly translation of the Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle says: "I have deliberately rejected the principle of trying to translate the same Greek work by the same word in English, and where circumstances seemed to call for it I have sometimes used two English words to represent one word of the Greek."

Let us now investigate to what extent this translation before us is paraphrastic.

Occasionally the translators have expressed in *two words* a thought that in the Greek is expressed in one word. The following examples will illustrate: Acts 24:3, *frid och ro*; Phil. 1:7 *et al.*, *rätt och tillbörligt*; 2 Pet. 3:5, *med vett och vilja*; Rom. 1:8 *et al.*, *först och främst*; Acts 22:25, *utan dom och rannsaking*; Rom. 11:14, *kött och blod*; Matt. 7:29 *et al.*, *med makt och myndighet*; Matt. 23:28, *övergifvet och öde*, but in Luke 13:35 simply *öfvergifvet*. It is possible that the translators followed another text in this last passage.

The rendition of the words in this manner adds not a little to the smoothness and beauty of the language. It should be noted, however, that the above are Swedish idioms which have no exact counterpart in English. The two words in most of these instances express but one thought or idea.

Additional *explanatory* words, which do not occur in the Greek are added here and there as in 1 Tim. 5:3. R. V. renders: "Honor widows that are widows indeed." The 1917 Swedish translation adds the word "*värnlösa*," thereby making it clear what kind of widows are meant, namely *defenseless* or *unprotected* widows.

In all the passages where the word *Asia* occurs (Acts 2:9, 6:9, 16:6, etc.) the explanatory word "province" is added.

Wherever the word "*speira*" occurs (Matt. 27:27, Mark 15:16, etc.) it is rendered "the Roman guard."

In Ephesians 2:1, 5 we have an instance of the repetition, for the sake of clarity of a whole phrase. R. V. also does this, rendering "And you did he make alive."

Romans 9:22, 23 is rendered freely and with added clarity as follows: "But now if God, when he wishes to show his wrath and reveal his power, nevertheless with great long suffering had patience with 'vessels of wrath,' which were ready for destruction, what have you then to say? And *if he did this* in order also to reveal the riches of his glory upon 'vessels of mercy,' which he before had prepared unto glory?"

Further repetitions for the sake of clarity are as follows: Ephes. 5:15, "Be therefore careful how you walk: *that you walk* not as unwise (*människor*) but as wise"; 2 Tim. 4:1, "I exhort you earnestly before God and Christ Jesus, before him who shall judge the living and the dead, *I exhort you* by his coming and his kingdom; 1 Pet. 3:17, "For it is better to suffer for good deeds, if so should be the will of God, than *to suffer* for evil"; 2 Cor. 9:6, "*Consider* this: he that sows sparingly, he shall also reap sparingly; but he that sows bountifully, he shall also reap *bountiful* blessing"; Matt. 20:12, "The burden of the day and the *sun's* heat"; 1 John 1:1, "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard . . . *that we declare*: concerning the word of life, *we speak*. The text reads only: "concerning the word of life."

The determinatives *den, det, de*, or a form of the personal pronoun are often repeated before a following relative pronoun, viz.: Acts 13:26, "So also you others here, *you* that fear God"; Acts 15:17, "Thus says the Lord, *he* who shall do this."

It is worthy of note that the Swedish translators here and there with a special word give expression to a thought, that lies in the Greek construction, but is not expressed beyond that. So for example in Luke 4:39, lies, of course, the added thought "leaned over her" and this translation renders: "He then stepped forth and leaned over her and rebuked the fever."

Mt. 10:11 is rendered in the Revised Version and also in the Swedish version of 1883, "And into whatsoever city or village ye shall enter, search out who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go forth." In the "kakei" of the Greek there is evidently a double reference, (1) to the city or village, and (2) to the person who therein is found worthy. This is not brought out in the Revised Version. Rendered into English the Swedish translation reads as follows: "But when you have come into some city or village: search out who in it is worthy, and then remain *with him* until you leave *that place*." Weymouth brings it out in his rendering of the passage: "Whatever town or village you enter, inquire for some good man; and make his house your home until you leave the place."

Mark 4:10 reads in N.U. as also in R.V.: "And when he was alone, they that were about him with the twelve asked of him the parables." I.e., Jesus had about him on this occasion a number of people besides the twelve, and yet . . . *he was alone*. This is a meaningless phrase. The original has an expression, "*kata monas*," which occurs also in Luke 9:18, and means, there as here, that the people who had before surrounded him, now had left him. In other words the expression has reference only to the "*hoklos pleistos*" of verse 1. But then it cannot mean that Jesus *was alone*, but that he had drawn away from the multitude. The passage should be rendered so. There is no unmeaningness in the Greek. The Swedish version translates: "When he afterwards had withdrawn from the people, the twelve, and with them the others who followed him, asked him about the parables."

GRAMMAR

New Testament study has made remarkable progress of late years in grammatical research. We have now a new type of commentaries, which accent the grammatical side of exegesis. It is the inevitable duty of the student to welcome the new discoveries and to attack the problems arising therefrom. An investigation of this translation proves interesting and enlightening.

A point of grammatical incorrectness in earlier translations of the New Testament, in both Swedish and English, is in respect to the tenses of the Greek verb. Whenever the genius of the language will permit it the Greek tenses should be rendered with strict grammatical precision. The Swedish translators have done this.

In the New Testament the Aorist is very frequent, even more so than in classical Greek. This tense expresses different kinds of action. The Constative Aorist just treats the act as a single whole entirely irrespective of the parts or the time involved. In John 2:20 we have an example where the whole period of forty-six years is treated as a point. In Hebrews 11:23 a period of time is summed up by the Constative. In the Ingressive Aorist the emphasis is laid on the beginning of the action. John 1:10 is rendered in the Revised Version "knew him not" and in this Swedish translation correctly "would not know him." Other examples are the following: Lk. 19:41, R.V. "wept" Sw. "began to weep"; Mt. 22:7, R.V. "was wroth" Sw. "became angry"; Mt. 2:16, R.V. "was exceeding wroth" Sw. "became very angry." In the Effective Aorist the idea is that the emphasis is laid on the end of the action as opposed to the beginning. In Jn. 17:25 where R.V. renders "knew thee not" the Swedish translates correctly "has not learned to know thee."

Our translators have been careful in their rendering of the Gnomic Aorist. Of this Robertson says in his *Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (p. 836): "The real 'gnomic aorist' is a universal or timeless aorist and probably represents the original timelessness of the aorist indicative." The difference between the gnomic aorist and the present is that the present

may be durative. This aorist is rendered in this Swedish translation by the present. Whereas R.V. renders Mt. 13:31 "took and sowed" the Sw. has "takes and sows." Mt. 13:33 is rendered in the Swedish "takes and mixes in" and R.V. "took and hid." Matt. 13:48 reads in the Swedish version: "When it is full they draw it up on the beach, and sit down and collect the good in vessels, but the bad they throw away," and in R.V. "Which when it was filled, they drew up on the beach; and they sat down, and gathered the good into vessels, but the bad they cast away." One more example may suffice to indicate the accuracy of this Swedish translation in rendering the Gnomic Aorist. It translates Rom. 8:30: "And those whom he has predestined he also calls; and those whom he has called he also justifies; and those whom he has justified he also glorifies." R.V. renders: "And whom he foreordained, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified."

A few examples will indicate with what accuracy the Swedish translators have rendered the Greek Imperfect. This tense, like the Aorist, often expresses delicate shades of meaning in the original, which cannot always be brought out in translation. In Luke 7:38 where the Swedish translation renders "kissed ardently" R.V. relegates the force of the Imperfect to the margin. In Acts 20:37 R.V. does not bring out the force of the vivid imperfect, but translates merely "kissed him" whereas the Swedish renders "kissed him fervently." In the following passages the Swedish and English versions agree: Acts 27:41, "the stern began to break up"; Acts 3:8, "began to walk"; Mt. 3:14, "would have hindered him."

The absence or presence of the Definite Article often has the weightiest effect upon the sense. Translators in the past have been guilty of almost every variety of error in connection with it. The translator must carefully note whether or not the article occurs. Of later grammarians Moulton in particular stresses this point. Especial consideration should be given to omissions of the article whereby greater weight is placed upon the quality or character of the person or thing. One passage, which in this respect caused the commission much labor and

worry, is John 1:14. The following translation was finally agreed upon: "And the word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory, we saw as it were an only begotten Son's glory from his Father, and he was full of grace and truth." Certain it is that a translation, which does not convey the fact that the article is lacking before "monogenous," cannot be correct.

As to the preposition "eis" in the expression "eis honoma" it has been clearly proven that where the expression is real Greek and not a translation it is the formula for expressing that something is or becomes the property of someone. It is really a business term, corresponding to the Swedish "på någons konto" or the English "on someone's account." In accordance with this the commission has rendered Mt. 28:19 with "baptize in" and not as the older Swedish translation "baptize unto." According to Swedish linguistic usage "i" is the best expression that here can be used. To be baptized "till" someone's name means to receive that person's name in baptism, to be called after someone. We say "buy it in my name," in the same meaning as "on my account." That, when it is a question of baptism the translation of "en" and "epi onomati" becomes the same as that of "eis onoma," although the meaning, at least originally, is different, is an inconvenience, but the Swedish language makes it necessary.

Philological research in later years has brought fruit not only from the point of view of grammar but also from a lexical point of view. Words, the meaning of which we formerly sought in classical Greek or in translations from Semitic languages, have now by appearing in papyri and monuments from the Hellenic period stood forth in their true meaning. There is now no doubt that "hilastairion" in Rom. 3:25 does not mean "mercy-seat," as it does in Hebrews, where it renders a Hebrew expression, but rather "försoningsmedel," "means of atonement." "Haigorasthete timais" (1 Cor. 6:20 and 7:23) does not mean: "You are dearly bought" as in the older Swedish translations. The papyri show the word "timai" to have occurred in purchase contracts with about the same meaning as our "full value received." It says then that the purchase is a

real purchase which cannot be cancelled. The Swedish version renders: "You are bought and payment is given." We still have the thought, "you are dearly bought," preserved, namely in 1 Pet. 1:19.

The writer has examined about fifty passages in Acts and finds that in three fourths of the instances B.K. departs from N.U. and is in almost every instance an improvement on the latter. In one half of the instances B.K. agrees with R.V. The agreement with R.V. is thus found to be greater than with N.U. In the cases of disagreement with R.V., B.K. is in the majority of instances an improvement on the English version.

Many passages could be cited in which B.K. furnishes a grammar that is a relief as compared with the older forms.

The Swedish translators are thoroughly in earnest to be understood. They have the courage to strike straight for the idea of the original, refusing to be literal when literalness would hinder the idea in getting home to the mind. Literalness is never carried to such a degree as to hide the idea under words. The Swedish translators have tried with great success to reach the central ideas of the original and to express them with living words.

WHAT TEXT DID THE COMMISSION USE?

Under the tenet of faithfulness to the text in the principle of the Swedish Bible Commission the question naturally arises: "What text did the Commission use?" Here the translator is met by difficulties, so to speak, at the very gate. For him it is not merely a matter of taking his *Novum* together with the best lexicon and grammar to the New Testament and then translating word for word as it is written.

The translator of the Old Testament has not the difficulties in respect to text that confront the translator of the New Testament. The former has a fixed text, the so-called Masoretic, such as it is with all its faults. No old manuscripts with a vast number of varying readings cause him anxiety. Unless he wishes to enter upon more or less uncertain textual improvements and conjectures he has in reality but one manuscript to base his work upon. This contains but few notes of

textual criticism (Qere), and the earliest complete copy is from 1000 A.D.

The Swedish translators have found it advisable to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors and keep closely to the Massoretic text as being at least established by usage and thereby relatively true. Only when the text was found to be so corrupted that it was impossible to arrive at any reasonable sense has the Commission attempted to restore it by means of the best scientific apparatus. In many cases the Commission was assured that a departure from the original sense was in evidence, but since such an assurance cannot become more than an individual scientist's opinion and full certainty of the original meaning of the passage never can be arrived at, the translators have in such cases abided by the traditional text.

If the question of the original text is comparatively simple, for the Old Testament, it is so much the more complex for the New. Even though the hundreds of thousands of variant readings are for the most part insignificant and do not affect the sense, they are nevertheless divergencies, which the conscientious translator must take into consideration and which cause him much perplexity in spite of the voluminous textual critical apparatus of our day. The varieties in meaning caused by these variant readings are in many cases not insignificant. What shall the translator choose?

It seems most reasonable to conclude that the earliest MSS. are most reliable. The numerous references to the two earliest MSS. in the trial translation of 1907 would indicate that the Commission has reasoned thus and has based its translation upon this principle of textual criticism. For the present there is no better means of procedure. But the Commission has not mechanically applied this principle. Even if it were possible to do this it would be far from scientific. The two earliest MSS. hitherto found, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, vary in many particulars, and it is not absolutely certain which is the earlier.

There is always the possibility that a later MS. can stand nearer the original than an earlier. It is conceivable that Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, dating from the fourth century might be the eighth in order from the original, whereas a MS. from

the seventh century might be fourth in order. The latter would then be more reliable than the former.

The earliest translations are very important in establishing the text. The old Latin, Syriac and Boheiric versions have great value for textual criticism. The latest valuable find in this field is that of the two English ladies, Lewis and Gibson, who in 1892 recovered Syrus Sinaiticus, a Syriac translation of the four gospels, dating back to 180 A.D. The Greek text from which this translation was made must have been very close to the original, and the version must have greater value than either Sinaiticus or Vaticanus.

Textus Receptus concocted during the orthodox period (published 1633) long held sway in the theological world. True science discarded it long ago and now its sovereignty is forever broken. The Swedish translation of 1883 was based on Textus Receptus where this was upheld by Aleph and B. It is remarkable this was the case since Westcott-Hort's expansive and thorough work on textual criticism, published in 1881, placed Textus Receptus in such a light as to seem impossible as a judge in questions of textual criticism. And yet it is not so remarkable that the Swedish translators based their work on T.R. when we consider that the British Bible Society until 1904 followed this text.

The Swedish Commission could, had it so desired, have chosen one authority of the many: Tischendorf-Gebhardt, Westcott-Hort, B. Weiss, Nestle, etc., but it has not done this. In the main it has followed Nestle's text which is a conglomerate text built on the principles which are more and more coming into use since the principles of Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort have been found to be somewhat one-sided. That the Commission has given due consideration to the latest research is very evident from a study of the translation. It has not printed the text it has compiled as did the English Revision Committee. It would be unreasonable to demand of a Swedish Bible Commission that it must by its own textual critical researches procure a critically expurgated text before beginning its work. All that during this period of transition can be accepted is at

hand in easily acquired form and the final results of the present great work in this field is doubtless far in the distance.

The Swedish translators have carefully tested the various readings. In at least one instance we find an enlargement on the old text, namely in Mt. 10:23. In R.V. the passage reads as follows: "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come." In this Swedish translation it reads: "When they persecute you in one city, flee into another; and if they also there persecute you, flee into still another. For verily I say unto you etc."

Of the omitted passages, whole verses or parts of verses, the majority are in the synoptics. It is difficult to understand why they are missing in old and good manuscripts if they originally belonged to the text, while it is very easily explainable that they later crept in. One evangelist has been corrected on the basis of another, probably under the influence of Tatian's Diatessaron. There is no real loss in the many instances, and they are in the majority, where the omitted words or verses are found in another of the Gospels.

The writer of this treatise has noted no less than 350 instances where this translation has omitted words, phrases and sentences that are contained in the Swedish translation of 1883, conclusive proof that the Commission has discarded the old *Textus Receptus*. This rigorism in textual criticism is occasioned by the most exact scientific interest.

In the main the text as shaped by the Swedish translators corresponds with that of the English revisers but the Swedes have been more drastic than any others in shaping the text. Even a critic like Bernhard Weiss in his restored Luther text makes fewer omissions.

LITERARY QUALITY

The following are some of the questions we would attempt to answer in this chapter. What has been the development of the Biblical Language of Sweden? Has the Commission succeeded in translating the New Testament into present day Swedish? How has the language fared, i.e., has the vitality

and majesty of the old been lost in the attempt to give accurately the meaning of the Greek?

Let us make clear from the beginning what we mean by a good translation into Swedish. We mean the rendering of the contents of a book into the Swedish language using Swedish modes of expression. The better and smoother the Swedish the better the translation. It must be faithful to the original but must be rendered into such idiomatic Swedish that the reader will not be aware that it is a translation.

How has the Biblical Language of Sweden developed?

The Catholic period, 1000-1520, is characterized by the influence of the Latin upon "Norraenatungan, or ancient Swedish." This influence consisted not only in the entrance of new simple words to express the new conceptions born out of Christianity, such as *kyrka*, *tempel*, *altare*, *predika*, etc., but also in the transference of Latin grammatical forms into Swedish. It is very evident that the early writers imitated the Latin or at least from Latin grammar acquired their conception of regularity in language.

The following letter of King Johan, in the early part of the 13th century, will exemplify the influence of the Latin upon the Swedish.*

In nomine sancte	et individue	trinitatis
I nampn the helga	oc oatskililiga	trefaldighets amen.

Johannes dei gracia	rex sweuorum.	Omnibus christi
Johannes medh guds naade	Svea konunger	allom Gudz

fidelibus presens scriptum jntuentibus	vel audientibus in
venom nervarande breeff se	eller hora helza

perpetuum. Ex delicti primi parentis	cunctis infigitur,
aeverdelica. Aaff war forsta forfaders brother allom	ingiffuit,

quod humana memoria labilis	sit et caduca.	Ninis
ath menniskiominne	aer ostadugt oc gorgaengeliget,	utan

* Quoted by Wieselgren, "Sveriges Sköna Literatur," vol. 1, p. 244.

res gestae vivaci literarum testimonio roberentur.
 the ting ther skee worda forstaerkt medh breffues ododelika

Noverit si quidem tam presencium etas
 bevisning. Thy gorom wi kunnogth swa kommaskolandom som.
 quam futurorum posteritas, quod in die coronationis nostre. . .
 them som nu aera ath paa vaar kronilsedagh. . . .

Thus we see that the Gothic, which trespassed on the soil of Italy came back with the accumulated force of Latin additions to its language. The language of the North as well as the Vikings themselves needed this discipline from Rome in the first centuries of Christianity. During this period the language developed the sureness and regularity, the vividness and power, which characterize the legal and biblical writings of early times.

The latter part of this period is characterized mainly by the influence of the Danish on the Swedish. The language of this period shows a mixture of the Northern tongues. It had now lost much of its early regularity and power. The similarity between the Swedish and the Danish will be apparent by a cursory glance at the following translation of the Decalogue in Exodus 20. The Swedish is from the translation of the Pentateuch, "Biblia på Swensko," referred to on page 2 fol., and the Danish is from the oldest Danish Catholic version.

Swedish

Nu talar war Herra swa at alt folkith hörer. Jak aer thin herra oc gudh. Jak ledde thik wt aff egipto lande aff thraeldome hwse, jak forbiwdher thik alla affgudha, oc at dyrke nakra script eller skyrdh eller nakra liknilse epter nakar the ting som aere a himpnemon eller a jordhume eller i watnom eller vnder jordhume. Thu skal ey hedrae them oc ey dyrkae.—Jak aer thin herra oc thin gudh, waldogher oc swa hedhergaern, at jak thol engom gudhlikan hedher. Jak haempnis foraeldra synde aff söne oc sonasöne til thridhia man oc fiardha manna owina, aen minom vinom lönir iak lydhno oc aelskogha meth miskund til thwsande man, aen the hiöldo winskap with them.—Thu skal ey wanwyrda thine gudz nampn eller swaeria nödhälöst om thet ther aer sighia.

Danish

Ok Herraen taledhe allae tesse talae: Jaek aer herraen thin gudh, hvilken som jaek wledde thic aff egiptes land aff traeldoms hws. Tw skalt ikke haffwe andre gudhae, fore mik. Tw skalt ikke göre thic utskoren aeller gropae thing ok ikke aeffterligaendhe hwilke som aerae j wedheret under jorden. Tw skalt ikke tilbedhe them oc ikke dyrke. Jaek aer herre thin gudh, staerk sielenes aelskere, sögendhe faedernaes sönder j sönerens, i theres tridie ok fiaerde slaekt, hvilke som hadhae mik ok görendhe miskundh j thusende madhe, them som aelskae mik ok gömae mynae bwdhe. Thu skalt ikke til thaghae herrens thins gudz naffn fafaengelighae, forthy herren skal ey hannom haffwe uskadelighe, hvilken som tiltagher herens syn gudhz naffn at enktae. j hugh kom at thu skalt hellig göre höktidens dagh.

Many words in this period were obsolete in the next period. Such words are: *Afwitte* (1526, nepste, Tyndale, rebucked); *arvodha* (1526, thät onyttigt är, Tyndale, wayne things); *ginstan* (1526, toogh på, Tyndale, touched); *hanna* (1526, strax, Tyndale, streyght waye); *luttakylse* (1526, delactugheet, Tyndale, fellowship); *sniallelica* (1526, wijsliga, Tyndale, wysly); *undirstanda* (1526 merkis kunde, Tyndale, supposed).

Many words still occur but with an entirely different meaning: *Arvodhe*, *arfuodhis man*, 1526 arbetare, Tyndale, labourer; *Bondha*, 1526 man, Tyndale, husbande; *Dygdh*, 1526 kraftena, Tyndale, power; *Goma*, 1526 togho wara pa, Tyndale, kepte; *Plikta*, 1526 nepser, Tyndale, chasten; *Rykta*, *ryktadhe han*, 1526 skotte honom, Tyndale, drest him.

Many words of this period are of foreign extraction. Such words are: Biskoper, Diäwl, Hartoghe, Kasterl, Klärker, Mönster, Olyueti (biargh), Pilagrimber, Präster, Sindal, Slott.

We now arrive at the period at the very beginning of which the first real translations appeared, 1520-1718.

1520-1600 was a period of emancipation and convalescence from the tyranny of the Danes. The language now shows great disorder in grammar and the greatest confusion in spelling that it has ever experienced. Words were spelled variously, viz.: Sidhwenio, sedhwanior, sedwenior, sedwanior; Twadragt,

twadracht, twedragt; Book, boock, bock; Macht, mact, magt, makt.

At the beginning of this period there was great lack of words to express thought. In the preface to the first Swedish New Testament we read: "No one should wonder or be offended because the words of Scripture are not so lively put as to make everything clearly understood; because the words were spoken in another language, and when that later was put into Swedish, there were not words in the Swedish language that could fully correspond with the Latin or Greek words."

During this and the following century there were two varieties of language, the spoken language, or Platt Svenskan, which was used in letters and public documents, in short, wherever it replaced the spoken word, and Hög svenskan, which was used in scientific and literary productions, and especially in translations of the Bible. The language into which the Scriptures were rendered is remarkably pure and majestic compared with the language of other documents of that day. The Reformers kept their writings almost free from Danish forms and expressions. Olaus Petri attempted to rid the language of foreign elements and succeeded remarkably well in doing this and in restoring the language to its former purity.

As Tyndale determined the style of the English Bible, so Petri determined the style of the Swedish. To him and his co-workers we may safely attribute the earnestness, vividness and dignity of our Swedish Bible.

In his admirable book, "The Bible as English Literature," Prof. J. H. Gardiner has conclusively shown (p. 293 fol.) the great influence of the Vulgate Latin on the English Bible. He gives examples to show the comparative resemblance of the two languages especially in the order of the words. It will be evident that this also applies to the Swedish if we take one of the examples of Prof. Gardiner and add the words of the Swedish.

1 Corinthians 15:41-47.

A.V.	There is one	glory	of the sun,	and another
Vulg.	Alia	claritas solis;		alia
Sw.	En annor	klarhet hafwer solen,		och en annor

glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,
 claritas lunae, et alia claritas stellarum:
 klarhet hafwer månen, och en annor klarhet stjernorna:

For one star differeth from another star in glory.
 Stella enim a stella differt in claritate.
 ty en stjerna gar öfwer den andra i klarheten.

So is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown
 Sic et resurrectio mortuorum. Seminatur
 Sammaledes ock the dödas uppståndelse. Thet warder sådt

in corruption; it is raised in in corruption. It is sown
 in corruptione, surget in corruptione. Seminatur
 forgängeligt, och skal upstå oförgängeligt. Thet warder sådt

in dishonor; it is raised in glory: it is sown
 in ignobilitate, surget in gloria; seminatur
 i snöplighet, och skal upstå i härlighet. thet warder sådt

in weakness; it is raised in power It is sown
 in infirmitate, surget in virtute; Seminatur
 i skröplighet, och skal upstå uti kraft. Thet warder sådt

a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body.
 corpus animale. surget corpus spiritale
 et naturligit lekamen och skal upstå et andeligt lekamen.

There is a natural body and there is
 Si est corpus animale, est et
 Man hafwer et naturligit lekamen; man hafwer ock

a spiritual body And so it is written,
 est et spiritale, sicut scriptum est:
 et andeligt lekamen. Såsom skrifvet är:

The first man Adam was made a living soul;
 Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem;
 Then första menniskan Adam ar gjord til naturligit lif;

the last Adam was made a quickening spirit.
 novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem.
 och then ytersta Adam til andeligt lif.

Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that
 Sed non prius, quod spiritale est, sed quod
 Men den andliga lekamen är icke den förste, utan den

which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.
 animale; deinde quod spiritale.
 naturlige; sedan then andlige.

The first man is of earth, earthy: the second
 Primus homo de terra terrenus; secundus
 Then första människan är af jordene, jordisk; then andra

man is the Lord from heaven.
 homo de coelo, coelistis.
 människan är Herren af himmelen.

Tyndale, nevertheless, adheres more closely to the Vulgate than does Petri. The following passage from the Vulgate (1 Peter 2:1-3) will illustrate this fact.

Deponentes igitur omnem malitiam, et omnem dolum et simulationes, et invidias, et omnes detractiones, sicut modo geniti infantes, rationabile sine dolo lac, conquoniam dulcia Dominus.

Wherefore laying aside all maliciousness, and all guile and dissimulation, and envies, and all backbiting, as new born babes, desire that reasonable milk which is without guile, that ye may grow therein, if so be that ye have tasted how pleasant the Lord is.

Sa lägger nu bort allo ondsko, och alt swек, och skrymteri, och afund, och alt förtal och åstunder fornuftenes mjölk, som intet swек wet, såsom nyfödd barn; så Herren är god.

Observe the number of words common to the

Vulgate,	and	Tyndale.
Malitiam		Maliciousness
Simulationes		Dissimulation
Invidias		Envies
Rationabile		Reasonable
Crescatis		Grow

Observe also the peculiar renderings common to both:

Vulgate	Tyndale
As new born babes	As new born babes
Milk without corruption	Milk without corruption
Grow therein	Grow therein
How pleasant the Lord is	How pleasant the Lord is

Just as Tyndale's version and that of King James are to no small extent different editions of the same work, so also the Swedish Bible of 1703 is in the main that of 1541. This fact without detracting from the merits of later translators, confers high honor on Tyndale and Petri. The substantial identity in both languages is clear from a perusal of large portions of the translations. We give a few examples:

Tyndale

A.V.

Matt. 11:29, 30

Take my yoke on you and
lerne of me for y am meke and
loly in herte: and ye shall find
ese unto your soules. For my
yoke is easy, and my burden
is light.

Take my yoke upon you,
and learn of me; for I am
meek and lowly in heart: and
ye shall find rest unto your
souls. For my yoke is easy,
and my burden is light.

Matt. 9:35

And Jesus went about all
the cities and tounes teach-
yng in their synagogges and
preachyng the gospell off the
kyngdome. And healinge all
maner sickness and desease
amonge the people.

And Jesus went about all
the cities and villages, teach-
ing in their synagogues, and
preaching the gospel of the
kingdom, and healing every
sickness and every disease
among the people.

Rom. 1:1, 2

Sw. 1541

1703

Paulus, Jesu Christi tienare,
kallad till Apostel, affskild til
at predica Guds Euangelium.
Hvilket han tilförenna uth-
loffuat haffuer genom sina
Propheter i thn helgha Scriftt
om sin son, thn food ar aff
Davids Sadh efter kotet.

Paulus, Jesu Christi tjänare
kallad til Apostel, afskild til
at predika Guds Euangelium.
Hwilket han tilförene utlofwat
hafwer, genom sina Propheter
i then helga Skrift, Om sin
Son, then född är af Davids
säd, efter köttet.

1 Tim. 3:16

Och uthan twiffwel ar gudachtighetennes hemlighet stoor, hwilken uppenbar worden är j kōtet, retferdighet j Andanom, synt Ånglomen, predicat Hedhningomen, trood i werldenne, uptaghen i herligheten.

Och utan twifwel ar gudagtighetenes hemlighet stor; Gud är uppenbar worden i köttet, rättferdigad i andanom, synt Ånglomen, predikad Hedningomen, trodd i werldene, uptagen i härligheten.

As a study in modernizing the Swedish Bible we give the following translations of John 1:1-5.

1526

I begynnelsen war oordhet och oordhet war när Gudhi, och gudh war oordhet, thet samma war j begynnelsen när gudhi, genom thet äro all ting giord och thy förvtan är intit giordt thet giordt är j thy var lifuet och lifuet war menniskernes liws och liwset lyser j mörkreth och mörkreth haffuer thet icke begripet.

1618.

I Begynnelsen war Ordet, och Ordet war när Gudhi, och Gudh war Ordet:

Thet samma war j begynnelsen när Gudhi.

Genom thet äro all ting giord, och thy föruthan ar intet giordt, thet giordt är.

I thy war lijffet, och lijffet war meniskiornas Liws:

Och Liwset lyser j mörkret, och mörkret haffuer thet icke begripit.

1703.

I Begynnelsen war Ordet: och Ordet war när Gudi, och Gudi war Ordet.

Thet samma war i begynnelsen när Gudi.

Genom thet äro all ting giord: och thy föruthan är intet giordt thet giordt är.

I thy war lifwet, och lifwet war menniskiornas lius.

Och liuset lyser i mörkret, och mörkret hafwer thet icke begripit.

1883.

I begynnelsen var Ordet, och Ordet var hos Gud, och Ordet var Gud.

Detta var i begynnelsen hos Gud.

Genom detta är allt gjordt, och det förutan är intet gjordt, som är gjordt.

I det war lif, och lifvet var människornas ljus;

och ljuset lyser i mörkret, och mörkret fattade det icke.

1917.

I begynnelsen var Ordet, och Ordet var hos Gud, och Ordet var Gud.

Detta var i begynnelsen hos Gud.

Genom det har allt blifvit till, och utan det har intet blifvit till, som är till.

I det var lif, och lifvet var människornas ljus.

Och ljuset lyser i mörkret, och mörkret har icke fått makt därmed.

The Swedish translators have been very successful in their endeavors to translate the New Testament into present day Swedish. It is delightful to meet in the New Testament the language that is really spoken. The language is nowhere ponderous, not even in the most difficult passages. The translators have brought the Bible closer to the people, they have made the content of the Book more readily accessible than ever before. The adjectives that best describe the style are *clear, smooth and dignified*.

Let me indicate a few points in which this translation differs from its predecessors.

There is an evident attempt to avoid the heavy relative pronouns: *hvilken, hvaraf, hvarifrån, hvarmed*, with which the translation of 1883 is replete. Thus in Matt. 7:2 N.U. translates: "Ty med den dom hvarmed I dömen, skolen I varda dömde, och med det mått hvarmed i mäten, skall det mätas åt eder." B.K. renders: "Ty med den dom hvarmed I dömen skolen I blifva dömde, och med det matt *som I mäten med skall ock mätas åt eder*." A few of the many instances in which this is done are the following:

N.U.

Mt. 12:34. *Hvaraf* hjärtat är fullt, *däraf* talar munnen.

Mt. 12:44. Jag vill vända tillbaka till mitt hus, *hvarifrån jag utgick*.

Jag vill vända tillbaka till mitt hus, *som jag gick ut ifrån*.

Jn. 17:26. Den kärlek, *hvarmed* du har älskat mig.

Den kärlek, *som du har älskat mig med*.

The spoken language does not like *compound words*, but often divides them into two separate words. B.K. does this in not a few instances.

B.K.

Hvad hjärtat är fullt af, det talar ju munnen.

N.U.

Mt. 10:40. Den som *mottager* eder, han *mottager* mig, och den som *mottager* mig, han *mottager* den som har sändt mig.

Mt. 13:30. För att *upppbränna* det.

Mt. 13:40. Och *upppbrännes*.

B.K.

Den som *tager emot* eder, han *tager emot* mig, och den som *tager emot* mig, han *tager emot* honom som har sändt mig.

Till att *brännas upp*.

Och *brännes upp*.

There are instances where a compound word should not be separated into its component parts for phonetic reasons, as for instance Mt. 2:11, where B.K. renders: "Och de *togo fram* sina skatter och *framburo* at det skänker: guld, rökelse och myrrha."

The compound word often expresses a thought with greater solemnity. Whether or not it shall be used depends as a rule on the context. Thus B.K. in Mt. 4:4 writes: "*Utgår af* Guds mun" and not "går ut," and in Mt. 8:4 "*frambar* sin offergåfva," and not "bar fram," since it is a question of sacrifice. Other instances where B.K. shows noteworthy discrimination in this respect are: Mt. 26:55, "*fasttaga* mig," and Mt. 28:15, "talet *utspriddes* bland judarna."

The language is very smooth in passages like the following: "Gån ock I till min vingård, så skall jag gifva eder hvad skäligt är," (Mt. 20:4); "Gån in i byn som ligger midt framför eder,

så skolen I strax finna en åsninna stå där bunden," (Mt. 21:2). Mt. 13:24 is splendidly rendered as follows: "Med himmelriket är det såsom när en man sådde god säd i sin åker." So also Mt. 22:2: "Med himmelriket är det, såsom när en konung gjorde bröllop åt sin son," and Mt. 25:1: "Då skall det vara med himmelriket såsom när tio jungfrur togo sina lampor."

In Mt. 11:7 fol. we have an instance of great improvement in the language: "When these went away Jesus began to speak to the people about John: 'Why was it that you went out into the desert? Was it to see a reed that is driven here and there by the wind? Or why did you go out? Was it to see a man dressed in fine clothes? Those who wear fine clothes you will find in king's palaces. Why then did you go out? Was it to see a prophet? Yes, I say to you: Still more than a prophet is he.'"

Verse 16 fol. in the same chapter is an improvement: "But to what shall I liken this generation? It is like children who sit in the marketplace and shout to other children and say:

We have played to you,
and you have not danced;
we have sung dirges,
and you have not moaned.

Verse 23 also: "And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted to heaven? No, down to the kingdom of death must thou go. For if the mighty works which are done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have stood today."

Improvement from the point of view of language is particularly noticeable in the epistles, but also where the Greek is very simple and easily understood the translators have made an entirely new translation as the following examples will show:

Matthew 8:5-13

When he thereafter came into Capernaum, a centurion advanced to him and asked him and said: "Lord, my servant is lying there at home paralyzed and suffers greatly." He said to him: "Shall I then come and heal him?" The centurion answered and said; "Lord, I am not worthy for you to enter

in under my roof. But say only a word and my servant shall be healed. I myself am a man who stands under the authority of others; I also have soldiers under me, and if I say to one of them, 'Go,' then he goes, or to another 'Come' then he comes; and if I say to my servant, 'Do that,' then he does it." When Jesus heard this he marveled and said to them that followed him: "Verily I say unto you: In Israel I have not in anyone found so great faith. And I say unto you: Many shall come from the east and the west and shall be at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into the darkness outside. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." And Jesus said to the centurion: "Go; as you believe, so be it for you." And in the same moment the servant became well.

Mark 2:1-12

Several days thereafter he again came to Capernaum; and when it became known that he was at home so many people came together that not even the place outside of the door could accommodate them, and he spoke the word to them. Then they came to him with a paralytic, who was carried by four men. And then they could not come up to him with the man on account of the people, they removed the roof over the place where he was; and when they thus had made an opening, they let down the bed on which the paralytic was lying. When Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic: "My son, thy sins are forgiven thee." Now there were some of the scribes sitting there, and they thought in their hearts: "How can this man speak thus? He is blaspheming. Who can forgive sins except God only?" Then Jesus immediately perceived in his spirit that they thought so within themselves; and he said to them: "How can you think such things in your hearts? Which is easier, to say to the paralytic: 'Thy sins are forgiven' or say: 'Arise, take thy bed and go.' But that you may know that the Son of man has power here on earth to forgive sins, I say to thee (and with this he turned to the paralytic): 'Arise, take thy bed and go home.'" He then arose and immediately took his bed and went out in full view of all, so that they were all

filled with astonishment and praised God and said: "We have never seen anything like this."

In order to dispel any preconceived ideas as to the quality of this translation from a literary viewpoint let us make a few comparisons with recent unauthorized English translations.

It introduces no provincialisms and colloquialisms as for instance Moffatt does. We need only to call attention to the following passages in Moffatt's translation and assure the reader that the Swedish translators make no such mistakes: "Let us strip off every *handicap*," Hebrews 12:1. "*Capital*, you excellent and trusty servant," Mt. 15:21. "The high priests *made fun* of him," Mt. 27:41, and elsewhere. Such expressions make his translation wanting in dignity at a point where dignity is imperative. "He answers from the inside, Don't *bother* me," Lk. 11:7. In this passage where colloquial forms are in order it is almost tolerable. Jn. 8:11 is past forgiveness: "Be off and never sin again." These words might be used by a magistrate to a first offender but not by Jesus, the Judge of all the earth. Note 2 Thess. 3:6: "Shun any brother who is *loafing*." Also 1 Thess. 5:14: The expression *loafing* is an unfortunate word. The modern loafer stands idle and does not run. Moffatt carefully avoids the word "lest" and prefers to render the Greek "me" by "in case that" which is certainly not English. It may be French or Scotch or both. We must regard it as a provincialism. Examples of "in case that" for "me" are found in the following passages: Mt. 7:6, "In case they trample"; Heb. 4:12, "In case there is a wicked and unbelieving heart in any of you"; Rev. 3:11, "Hold fast to what you have, in case your crown is taken from you." The last "case" shows clearly how the provincialism misses the meaning.

In Moffatt's translation we thus find a frequent choice of words that are meaner than the thought. He has expressions that tempt one to look upon the book rather as a curiosity than as a serious work.

The avowed intention of Weymouth, Moffatt and the translators of the "Twentieth Century New Testament is: (1) to make an earnest endeavor to ascertain the exact meaning of every passage, and (2) to accurately and naturally exhibit

this meaning in English of the present day. They have undoubtedly led us nearer to the sense and they show many felicities that are a decided improvement on the older versions, but the numerous infelicities mar the total effect.

Of the three mentioned, that of Weymouth is by far the best and it agrees better with the 1917 Swedish version, both in exactness of translation and in smoothness of language, than do the other two. We have seen that Moffatt's translation has the inexcusable fault of carrying modernness to the point of colloquialism. This is true also of the Twentieth Century New Testament. The Swedish version rises far above the level of colloquial Swedish. We search in vain for ineptitudes such as the following in the Twentieth Century New Testament:

(1) It carries plainness, homeliness of diction to the degree of seeming affectation, as in Luke 14:17: *Things* were quite ready; 15:2: This man actually welcomes godless people, and *has meals* with them; Acts 8:29: *Carriage* for the eunuch's chariot.

(2) It often seems to use trivial words by preference: as in Mk. 6:8: *stick* for *staff*; Acts 3:8: *jumping* for *leaping*.

(3) On the contrary it sometimes uses stiff or stilted words or phrases, as in Acts 5:10: Sapphira . . . *expired*; Lk. 5:32: I have not come to *invite the pious*; Mk. 5:30: Jesus instantly became conscious (sensible?) that there had been a demand upon his powers.

(4) It fails to maintain the real modern manner, as in Acts 5:28: You *are wishing* to make us responsible.

(5) The effects are sometimes ludicrous, as in Acts 24:22: *Colonel Lysias*; Rev. 5:8: The four *creatures* and the twenty-four *Senators*.

(6) In many places the translation is too free, not more than a paraphrase.

(7) There is very little agreeable rhythm, sometimes a seemingly intentional avoidance of music in the style.

(8) It imports ideas into the text, as in Jn. 19:24: Do not let us tear it, but let us *draw* for it (they probably threw dice);

Acts 12:19: Herod *crossquestioned* the guard (it was not necessarily that, and it certainly was a good deal else).

(9) It mistranslates, as in Mk. 4:4: Seed fell *along the path*; Lk. 7:37: A woman who was *leading a bad life* (there is no certainty that she was a *sinner* in that sense).

The list should be a long one that should contain the record of the cases in which the Swedish translators have led us nearer to the sense. Their diction is true to the content, to the weight, and to the grade of the original ideas.

In the foregoing we have attempted to point out some of the many improvements in point of view of language in this latest Swedish version as compared with its nearest predecessor and with more recent English translations. The attempt to give smoother and more natural modern Swedish is everywhere evident but it is impossible to bring out the fine shades of meaning in rendering it into English. The little particles *ju*, *då*, *ja*, etc., which so accurately render the Greek "gar" and "de" are lacking in the English. If we were to go back still farther and compare the Old Bible of 1703 with that of 1917 the changes in language would of course be much more evident.

In the earlier translations the language is heavy, the sentences long and drawn out, the infinitive and participial constructions far too numerous. Often the constructions are Greek and the words Swedish. (This applies to English translations as well.) In the Greek the endings of the participles indicate what they refer to but this cannot be done in the Swedish or English and so the meaning becomes obscure. A cursory glance at Matthew reveals that the translation of 1883 contains a great many unnecessary participial constructions that are eliminated in the translation of 1917.

Thus the Greek left its impress on the language of former translations to such a degree as to render it heavy and difficult to understand. In this new translation the language is smooth and readable. It is an exponent of Swedish such as it really is in all its purity, simplicity and correctness. I do not wish to say that the long sentences in the earlier translations are *graecisms*, *latinisms* and *germanisms*. Our juridical language,

both in Swedish and English, has sentence constructions of gigantic proportions but we do not call them graecisms or latinisms. What I wish to point out is that the present translators have conformed the sentence constructions to the laws of the Swedish language, whereas the earlier translators apparently did not even attempt to do this. In 1703 Ephesians 1:3-14 is one sentence, 1883 divides it into three sentences and 1917 into seven. The translation of 1703 is replete with anacolutha with the semicolon often recurring.

Is it true, as many hold, that the vitality and majesty of biblical language has been sacrificed in the attempt to render accurately the meaning of words and sentences? Is there a lack of dignity and nobility in this translation? The reader, who mourns the loss of the graecisms and archaisms of the old will reply in the affirmative. That which is ancient inspires him with reverence, but the things of the present are trite and commonplace. The greatest fault in a new translation of the Bible is usually that it is *new*. When we find it necessary to sanction something new we often feel as though we have come into bad company. In a friend we sometimes love even his faults. It is strange, and yet not so strange, that a construction borrowed from another language should sound more dignified than a purely Swedish or English construction. The term 'Biblical Language' instead of designating the mode of expression of the translators of the sixteenth century, should designate the manner of expression of the authors of the Bible and of the Lord himself—be this ever so lofty or ever so simple. Our translators have striven for the greatest possible clarity in language, for a pure, present day, easily understood Swedish. They have laid aside that biblical language which has its dignity, not in the content of the Book, but in archaisms, strange constructions and faults of language.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY IN DENMARK

There is a perfect continuity of Danish historical scholarship from the early eighteenth century to the present time. In the middle of the eighteenth century Holberg, the Danish Molière who had a flair for history, composed a *History of Denmark* of no mean value. In the latter part of the century the tradition was carried on, and splendidly, by Peter Suhm, Hans Gram, Jakob Langebek, Jens Sneedorff, and Ove Guldberg. The dawn of the new century witnessed the "middle period" of Danish historiography. The period is characterized by a veritable renaissance of historical as of other literature. Out of the chaos of the Napoleonic period, the dismemberment of the Kingdom, the national bankruptcy, came a renewal of the national spirit, a deeper sense of nationalism and of the true sources of those springs of culture at which the nation was to drink. The genius of Grundtvig dominates and characterizes the generation from 1830 to the second war with Germany.

The new group of historians interested itself primarily in rediscovering the sources of Danish history and focusing the attention of students on national history. Their work was a part and parcel of that revival of Danish nationalism and Danish culture which is the outstanding characteristic of this period in Denmark as in Germany. They were the pathbreakers for the new generation and prepared the way for the great achievements of the second half of the century. J. A. Worsaae, P. V. Jacobsen, C. F. Wegener and E. C. Werlauff were of this middle period, and all confined their researches to the early period of Danish history. But the great names of this generation are N. F. S. Grundtvig, C. F. Allen, and C. P. Paludan-Müller. Grundtvig did more, perhaps, than any other one man to arouse interest in the mythology and earliest history of the Danish peoples; he rendered a great number of the early sagas, and the *Saxo Grammaticus*, into modern Danish. Nor was his work that of a mere translator; it was characterized by scholarship and originality of a very high order. Besides his great achievements in this field, Grundtvig wrote a *Handbook of*

Universal History, certainly the best thing of its kind which had appeared in Denmark, but permeated by strong religious preconceptions and interpretations. C. F. Allen, perhaps the most widely known Danish historian of his generation, wrote that History of Denmark which was the standard work on Danish history for fifty years, and by which Denmark was known throughout Europe. The History was translated into French, German, and Swedish, and had a wide circulation both at home and abroad. After he came to the chair of history at the University of Copenhagen, Allen wrote his magnum opus, the five volume History of the Three Northern Kingdoms, which insured his reputation among scholars as his general history had among the public. Paludan-Müller was an historian of a very different kind. He composed rather the raw materials of history which Allen transmuted into an interpretative and synthetic popular work. In his long career as a teacher in Odense and later at the University of Copenhagen, Paludan-Müller produced an astounding number of scholarly monographs. He was primarily interested in Danish history of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, but contributed treatises on Machiavelli, on Cola di Rienzi, and a history of Danish historiography of the eighteenth century. His was the research spirit; he set himself to discover truth and left to others the task of popularizing it.

The war of 1864 ushers in a new era in Danish historiography. The defeat at the hands of the Central Powers, and the dismemberment of the Kingdom, affected Danish culture and scholarship much as similar national calamities have affected other nations. It was after the chaos of the Napoleonic regime and the debacle of the old system, that German culture took on new life; the period witnessed above all a renaissance in historical study and production quite without parallel in modern history. Similarly, after Sedan, France, awoke from the opera bouffe of the Third Napoleon to the realities of the Third Republic, and the new sobriety registered itself in a reexamination of and a reevaluation of national life and history, and a tremendous outburst of historical study and scholarship. In Denmark, history, in accordance with its well-known in-

clination in that respect, repeats itself. Denmark was spiritually chastened and mentally sobered, and there was a new taking of stock, a new evaluation and a more scientific and thorough examination of national origins and history.

It is perhaps for this reason that Danish historiography in the last half century has dwelt so largely on national history, and with the earlier rather than the later periods of that history. It would seem reasonable that Danish historians, from their unexcelled vantage point between the great Powers, with their strategic location in a neutral state midway between East and West, with their unprejudiced and disinterested perspective, should be the chroniclers of European history, of international relations. There should not be the national prejudices or preconceptions which to so large an extent vitiate French and German scholarship. Such, however, has not been the case. Danish historians have concentrated on Danish history to an extraordinary extent.

This emphasis on Danish history we have noted in the "middle group" of historians, and it is a distinctive characteristic of the post-war group. As there is a continuity in the broad field of study, so there is a continuity in emphasis. The medieval and early modern periods of Danish history continue to be the most attractive. But while the subject matter is not new, the method to a large extent is. The study of history becomes more scientific and more highly organized. There is a larger number of able students who carry out their researches individually and cooperatively. It is the age of research, of the archive, of cooperation.

The Danish Historical Society had been organized as early as 1839, and in 1840 had appeared the first volume of the *Historisk Tidsskrift*, under the able editorship of Christian Molbech. In 1866 appeared the first volume of the *Yearbook for Northern Antiquities and History*. In 1875 was organized the Society for the Translation of Historical Sources, and two years later, a notable event in Danish historiography, the Society for the Publication of the Sources of Danish History. In 1889 the National Government archive was established at Copenhagen, with branches in each of the provinces—one in

Copenhagen, Odense, and Viborg. A. D. Jørgensen, the foremost archivist of his generation, was placed in charge. The archives have been a veritable school for historians; they have played much the same role in the training of Danish historians as L'Ecole de Chartres in France.

The organization of these historical societies and the opening of the national archives led to the intensive and extensive study of the sources of Danish history and to a perfect flood of publications. Historical activities in Denmark, in the last half century, particularly in the generation after 1864, are quite without parallel in any nation of similar size in the world, and compare favorably, both in quality and quantity, with those of France, Germany, and England. The most eminent names are those of Edvard Holm, Troels-Lund, Johannes Steenstrup, A. D. Jørgensen, Kristian Erslev, Aage Friis, and Georg Brandes.

With the exception of Georg Brandes, who is a universal and not a national genius, the attention of these historians has been pretty steadily focused upon Danish or Scandinavian history. Every generation must rewrite its own history, and the new generation of Danish historians set about this task with a certain exuberance. Holm rewrote the history of Denmark-Norway under the enlightened absolutism, and his many-volumed work is unsurpassed for accuracy, completeness, or scholarship, in any language. Troels-Lund described with charm and sympathy the Daily Life in the North in the sixteenth century, and his volumes were read as are those of H. G. Wells today. Primarily a student of institutions and of culture-history, he represents well the newer, the German, influences in Danish history. Steenstrup too represents the point of view of the younger school, the economic and agricultural rather than the constitutional interpretation. A. D. Jørgensen and Kr. Erslev are particularly notable figures because they reexamined the complex history of the Schleswig-Holstein problem and of the relations of Germany and Denmark, and did so with laudable impartiality. They, more than any others, contributed toward a reinterpretation of Denmark's past; they broke away from the nationalist school of historians

and forced upon their public a saner and juster understanding of the War of 1864 and its antecedents. They did for the War with Germany what Andrews and Becker, Alvord and Schlesinger have done for the American Revolution, and with a much wider measure of popular success.

Aage Friis, the youngest of this group, and today the most eminent historian in Denmark, is known especially for his monumental studies of the Bernstorff family, for his contributions to the Schleswig-Holstein problem, and for his editorial activities. His volumes on the Bernstorffs represent the best of the new school: studies in culture-history, in institutions and society, and written with considerable brilliance and spirit. He is the foremost living authority on the Schleswig-Holstein question. His activities as an editor are even more notable. He has sponsored two magnificent series of historical works—the "Nineteenth Century" and "World Culture," both cooperative enterprises of some forty volumes apiece. He is at present editing a new eight volume cooperative History of Denmark, which promises to be the last word in Danish scholarship.

Cooperation has been, indeed, a distinct characteristic of recent Danish scholarship, as of that of Germany, France, England, and the United States. The great Biographical Lexicon, edited by Bricka, was a monumental undertaking, comparing favorably with the famous Dictionary of National Biography. Two cooperative series we have already called attention to—the "Nineteenth Century" and "World Culture." A third and equally impressive cooperative work was the "Folkenes Historie." The "Danmarks Riges Historie," now being rewritten, is a work much like our own "Chronicles of America," on a somewhat smaller scale. It is the heyday of division of historical labor, and of popularization of historical research, in Denmark, and the results fully justify the experiment.

Of Georg Brandes and his contributions it is scarcely necessary to speak. He is the grand old man of Denmark, the modern Voltaire. He is still a radical in a world that has grown weary of radicalism, and is coming more and more to the dignity of a prophet without honor in his own country. He is the

foremost critic and the greatest biographer in Europe today, and beside his monumental biographies of Caesar, Michel Angelo, Shakespeare, Goethe, Voltaire and Napoleon, the psychoanalyses and clever characterizations of the lesser Guedallas or Bradfords seem futile and petty. The contribution of Brandes to history has been that of synthesis and interpretation.

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SOME ETYMOLOGIES OF CERTAIN OLD NORSE WORDS DEALING WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

1. *Dólgr* 'enemy, fiend, monster'

The primary sense of *dólgr* (earlier form *dolgr*) was 'enemy' from which it later passed over into the sense of 'supernatural being, ghost, monster.' The primary sense of the stem *dólg-* was always preserved in the nouns *dólg* neut. 'enmity' and *dylgja* (used most often as a pluralis tantum *dylgjur*¹) 'enmity'; these words and their derivatives (cf. *dólg-* in compounds) were never used in any other sense.

The transition in meaning from 'enemy' to 'supernatural creature, monster' is perfectly natural (cf. Germ. *Feind* 'enemy': Eng. *fiend* = 'monster,' ON. *fjándi* 'enemy' > 'fiend, monster') since such monsters were the enemy of mankind. The earliest evidence we have of this transition occurs in the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, 50, where the spirits of the dead who infest Helge's death-mound are called *daupir dolgar*. But elsewhere in the Elder Edda the word *dolgr* is restricted to its primary sense of 'enemy.'

In prose the word was applied to supernatural creatures but only to those with which mankind had to contend, such as devils (*svartir dolgar*), trolls, dragons, giants and phantoms (*draugar*). But the word *dolgr* could also be applied to human beings, who exhibited supernatural qualities, such as Grettir.²

Now let us consider the etymology of the word *dólgr*. We may postulate with certainty for ON. *dólgr* a PG. root **dulg-a-*

¹ Cleasby-Vigfússon give for *dylgjur* the following definition: "suppressed enmity, finding vent in *menaces, hootings*, and the like." But there is no reason for assuming the idea of "suppressed enmity" in the word *dylgja*—Fritzner (1866) gives it correctly as merely *Fiendskab, Uenskab*—. Cleasby was no doubt led to this interpretation through associating the word *dylgja* with *dylja* 'to hide, conceal,' but there is no evidence that the two roots **dulg-* and **dul-* are related (see Fick, *Vgl. Etym. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen*,⁴ p. 215 sub *dvel* and p. 210 sub *dulga*).

² The herdsmen of Vatnfjardardal refer to Grettir as *sá dólgr* 'that monster' (*Grettiss.* 52, 5, Boer's edition, *An. Sagabibliothek*).

from which we may derive in West Germanic OE. *dolg*, O Fris. *dolg*:*dulg*, OHG. *tolg* all of which meant 'wound' and in East Germanic, Gothic *dulgs*³ 'debt.'

Presumably on account of the wide divergence in meaning between Gothic *dulgs*, on the one hand, and North and West Germanic **dulg-a-*, on the other, Fick (*Vgl. Etym. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen*,⁴ p. 210) separates the Gothic word from the North and West Germanic forms. But there is no necessity for this, as I shall attempt to show.

If we assume with G. Ehrismann (*Beitr.* 20, 60-61) that the PG. root **dulg-* goes back to a PI. root **dhelgh-* (or **dhelk-*) meaning 'to strike,' then from this basic sense the meaning of the Germanic word **dulg-a* in the various dialects can be readily explained. In Gothic the word *dulgs* could have originally meant (as Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache*, suggests) 'a were-gild paid for wounding someone,' from which developed the idea of 'debt' in general. In West Germanic, as in the original sense of the word in Gothic, the word passed over from 'strike' to 'wound' and in North Germanic from 'wound' to 'the person wounded' = 'enemy' and then, as I have shown above, from 'enemy' to 'supernatural creature, monster.'

2. *Flyka* 'phantom'

This word is a hapax legomenon, occurring in the *Grettiss.*⁴ 32, 10 (Boer's edition) in the sense of 'phantom.' Cleasby-Vigfússon give the word *flyksa*⁵ (*flyxa*) as a by-form of *flyka* and define the two words as "a flake, rag, metaph. a phantom, Grett. III." But there is no evidence that the word *flyka* ever denoted "a flake, rag," since it occurs only once and then in the sense of 'phantom.' However, Cleasby's contention may be correct; the word *flyka* may have originally been synonymous with *flyksa* 'flake, rag,' from which the word, as we now have it, passed over into the sense of 'phantom.' On morphological,

³ Cf. also *dulga-heitja* 'creditor.' Both words occur in the same passage (Luke 7, 41): "twa *dulgis* skulans wēsun *dulgahaitjin* sumamma."

⁴ "Ekki hræðumz ek *flykur* þær," sagði Glámr.

⁵ Neither one of these two words is recorded by Fritzner (1866).

as well as on semantical, grounds Cleasby's contention has much in its favor, as I shall attempt to show.

I derive the word *flyksa* from **flukk*+the suffix⁶ *-is-(ôn)*, i.e. **flukk-is-ôn*>**flykksô*>*flyksa*. The word *flyka* I derive from the same root **flukk*+*ô* which would have given a phonetically correct form **flukka*, but granting Cleasby's hypothesis that *flyka* and *flyksa* were once synonymous we may explain the *-y*- as well as the simplified gemination *-k-*, in *flyka* as due to the influence of *flyksa* where the *-y-* was the result of an *i*-umlaut of *u* and where the gemination *-kk-* was simplified because of the following consonant *-s*.

The stem **flukk-* occurs in ON. *flokkr* 'swarm, flock' and in *flykk-jask* 'to crowd, assemble' and may go back to an earlier **flug-n*>**flugg-*>**flukk* (see Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän.-Etym. Wtb.* I, p. 239, sub *flok* I and II), in which case we have to do with an original stem **flug-* 'to fly' as in the verb *fljúga*, *flaug*: *flugum*, *floginn*.

The basic sense then of both *flyka* and *flyksa* is 'something which flies about (in the air),' from which the sense of 'a flake, rag'='something which flies or waves in the air' and of 'phantom'='that which flits about in the air' may easily be derived.

The fundamental meaning of *flyka* 'phantom' has reference then to the naturally illusive qualities of a supernatural creature. *Flyka* might then be translated by "a fleeting or flitting creature." The idea of deception was often fundamental in words for a supernatural creature; cf. *váfa* 'the weaving creature' (*vefa* 'to weave') and *draugr*, 'deceiver' (cf. Germ. *betrügen*), OS. *gidrog*, OHG. *gitrog*.

3. *Reimt* 'haunted'

The adjective *reimt* is used only in this form, i.e. neut. sing. impersonal *reimt* (*er*). Both Fick (p. 342 sub **raimôn*) and Egilsson (*Lex. Poet.*, sub *reimudr*) express the opinion that the word *reimt* may be connected with the words *reim-udr* 'haunter' and *reimir*=scaldic kenning for 'snake,' and I believe this conjecture is well founded.

⁶ For the suffix *-s* in Germanic see F. Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre*, §§46, 47, 146. The suffix *-s* was not infrequently used in denoting monsters, cf. *skar-s* 'giantess' (see No. 4) and *pur-s* 'giant.'

According to Fick (*ibid.*) the meaning of PG. **raimôn* was 'umherstreifen,' which sense is still preserved in Eng. *roam* (<Mid. Eng. *romen* <OE. **râman* <PG. **raimôn*). The word *reim-uðr* is found only in the kenning *reim-uðr Jötunheima* (*Hauslög*, 7) 'the haunter of Jotunheim,' applied to the giant Þjazi. If we consider *reim-uðr* a nomen agentis to an ON. verb **reima* <**raimôn*, the meaning of *reim-uðr* is 'one who wanders about' > 'one who infests or haunts a locality.'

According to Cleasby-Vigfússon the word *reim-ir* in prose had the sense of 'thong.' If we consider *reim-ir* a nomen agentis (in *-*ja*) to an ON. verb **reima*, then the meaning of *reim-ir* is 'that which goes around something (foot, limb, etc.)' = 'a thong.' And from this basic sense of 'going around' could easily be derived the meaning of 'snake,' lit. 'squirmer, twister'; cf. *snákr* 'snake': *snaka* 'to rummage about,' Germ. *Schlange* 'snake': *schlingen* 'to twist.'

If we connect the adjective *reim-t* with the stem **raim-*, from which both *reim-uðr* and *reim-ir* are derived, then the basic sense of *reim-t* is 'infested with things that wander about' > 'infested with ghosts,' haunted.' For the transition from 'something which goes around' to 'ghost' we may compare the word *flyka* 'creature which flits about' > 'ghost.' In the kenning *reim-uðr Jötunheima* we still have the basic sense of the root **raim-*, i.e. 'one who wanders about, infests (a locality),' without any necessary sense of the supernatural, but in the adjective *reim-t* the basic sense had entirely passed over into a supernatural idea because of the popular notion that the spirits of the dead infest certain localities.

4. *Skars:Skass* 'monster, giantess'

The word *skars* I derive from *skar* + an *s*-suffix (cf. footnote 6); *skar-* belonging to the same stem as *skera*, *skar:skêrum*, *skorinn* 'to cut.' As a by-form of *skars* we have *sker-sa:skes-sa* <**skar-s-jôn*.

I have elsewhere⁸ tried to show that the words *mella* and *flagð*, which like *skars* denote 'a female monster,' are derived

⁷ For 'ghost' in this sense compare *apír-ganga*, French *revenu*.

⁸ Cf. "Some Old Norse Etymologies," *M.L.N.s.*, XLI, p. 370 (*flagð*), p. 372 (*mella*), 1926.

from a basic sense of 'loose' > 'bad,⁹ hostile' > 'demon.' I believe the word *skars*¹⁰ underwent a parallel semantic development, namely 'something cut off' > 'loose' > 'bad, hostile' > 'monster, giantess.'

5. *Skt* 'sorcery, jugglery'

The word *skt* I derive from a base **skei-* 'appear, shine' (cf. Falk and Torp, II, p. 996 sub *skin*; Fick, pp. 461-462 sub *ski*), which with the suffix *-n* (originally a part only of the present system) appears in ON. *sktna*, Eng. *shine* and their cognates.

The transference of meaning from 'appearance' to 'ghost' is, of course, very common, cf., e.g., German *Erscheinung*. From the basic sense of 'shine' in **skei-* was developed the opposite sense of 'shadow, shade' (cf. Grk. *σκιά* 'shadow'), which idea also passed over into that of 'ghost'; cf. OE. *scīn*, *scinn*, *scinna* 'ghost.' For a parallel semantic development compare Eng. *shade* (= *ghost*), ON. *skuggi* 'ghost,' OE. *dēap-scūða* 'death-shade' = 'ghost.'

Fritzner (1866) defines the ON. word *skt* as "forfængelig Tale, Væsen som skuffer ved et bedragerisk Skin." Fritzner, therefore, detects in the word the sense of 'false appearance.' This sense is substantiated by the alliterative formula *skt ok skrípi* ('hullucination') which occurs in the sagas (cf. *Hervs*. 263, 26).

The semantic development of ON. *skt* could then be 'appearance' > 'false appearance, appearance of the supernatural' > 'sorcery, jugglery.'

The compound *skt-madr* 'sorcerer, juggler,' later passed over into the sense of 'impostor' (with an accretion of moral

⁹ For the transition 'loose' > 'bad' compare *vrangr* 'twisted' > 'wrong,' Norw. *skarv* 'vagabond' comes from the same root as OE. *sceorfan* 'to shave off' (cf. Falk and Torp, II, p. 988 sub *skarv* III). The semantic development of *skarv* is then 'something shaved off, something loose, cast aside' > 'worthless person.'

¹⁰ Cf. also *skyr-si:skys-si* 'portent, phantasm' which may be derived from **skur-* (an ablaut variation of **skar-*) + *s+ja*. Here the meaning of 'portent, phantasm,' etc., could be secondary to that of 'monster.' The word *skyr-si* is a neuter collective and could have had an earlier sense of 'monstrous things' (cf. *skyr-sa* 'monstrous blunder') > 'magical things' > 'portent, phantasm,' etc.

sense) and in the New Testament was used as the word for 'hypocrite.' The idea of 'impostor' and 'hypocrite' contains very clearly the basic sense of the word, viz. '(false) appearance.'

That the idea of 'impostor, hypocrite' did not grow out of the idea of 'sorcerer' alone but was due primarily to the sense of 'false appearance' inherent in the word is shown by the fact that from no other ON. word denoting 'sorcerer, wizard' did the moral sense of 'impostor, hypocrite' develop; cf., e.g., *seið-maðr*, *skratti*, *vitki*. In these last three words the idea of 'wizard, sorcerer' was developed in an entirely different way than in the case of *skt-maðr*; *seið-maðr*¹¹ 'one who works charms' > 'wizard,' *skratti* 'deformed, stunted, ugly creature' > 'wizard' (cf. Falk and Torp II, p. 1025 sub *skrante*; Fick, pp. 472-473 sub *skratla*), and *vitki* 'one versed, wise' (cf. *vita* 'to know') > 'wizard.' The word *skt-maðr*, on the other hand, was 'the man who could deceive' (i.e., by false appearance) > 'a wizard,' hence also (with an accretion of moral sense) 'impostor, hypocrite.'

In view of the evidence given above it seems strange that no etymology of the ON. word *skt* has, so far as I know, ever been offered.

6. *Skrtpi* 'phantom'

The word *skrtpi* is used of an hallucination or supernatural vision, or as Fritzner (1866) puts it: "fantastisk Syn eller Skikkelse, der fremstiller sig for nogen paa Grund af en *sjónhverfing* eller Indbildning."

Falk and Torp (II, p. 1034 sub *skræmsel*) connect the word *skrtpi* with a base **skrei-* which is present in Norw. (dial.) *skrimsla* 'Schimmer, schwacher Schein, Spuk,' ON. *skrimsl* 'entsetzliche Erscheinung, Spuk, Gespenst,' Norw. (dial.) *skrtma* (*skrimta*) 'hervorschimmern, sich undeutlich zeigen,' ON. *skrim* 'schwaches Licht.'

The base **skrei-* has then the sense of 'shine faintly, glimmer' and from this basic sense the idea of 'phantom' can easily be derived; cf. the word *glám-syni* which is used in the *Grettiss*.

¹¹ Cf. also *taufra-maðr* (Germ. *Zauberer*) which had only the meaning of 'sorcerer, wizard,' never that of 'impostor' or 'hypocrite.'

(35, 26, Boer's edition) synonymous with *skripti*; *glám-syni* = 'the sight of something which faintly glimmers' (cf. ON. *glða*, Eng. *gleam*, etc.). *Glám* is the name of the ghost with which Grettir struggles. The idea of 'something one sees' for 'ghost' is present in all languages,¹² cf., e.g., Eng. *vision* (*video* 'see'), *spectre* (<Lat. *spectrum*, *specio* 'see'), Germ. *Gesicht*.

But if *skrt-pi* is derived from a root **skrei-*, how are we to explain the *p*-suffix? Falk and Torp do not explain it nor does F. Kluge (*Stammbildungslehre*) recognize any such thing as a Germanic *p*-suffix. But Francis A. Wood has convincingly demonstrated the existence of the *p*-suffix in Germanic ("Some Parallel Formations in English," *Hesperia*, *Ergänzungsreihe* I., "P-Formations," p. 52 ff., 1913). According to Wood this *p* is in most cases derived from IE. *b*; it is a very common determinative, often interchanging with *k*; in certain cases it is a later addition after the analogy of traditional forms with *p* (cf. Zupitza, *Germ. Gutturale*, p. 18 ff.).

Since ON. *skrt-pi* has no cognate in OE., Wood does not mention this word, but I believe that this ON. word illustrates his principle, i.e. **skrt+p*-formation. We see that the root **skri-* has an *m*-extension (+the suffix *-sl-*) in those words which Falk and Torp (sub *skræmsel*) quote as derivatives, cf. *skri-m-sl*, *skrt-ma*, etc. The *m*-extension, as well as the *k*-extension, often interchanged with the *p*-extension, as in, e.g., ON. *svei-pa*:*svi-pa* (Norw. dial. *svt-ma*, MHG. *swt-men*, OHG. *swt-nan*) from a root **suiþ-:sueiþ-* etc., meaning 'to turn around' (cf. Wood, No. 26). But the question is here as to whether the *p*-extension in ON. *skrt-pi* was original or a later addition due to analogy with some other word which had an original *p*-extension. On account of the lack of evidence it is impossible to determine this question satisfactorily but if the *p*-extension is here due to analogy with some other word which had an original *p*-extension I believe that this word was *sviþr* < PI. **suiþ-b-* (cf. Wood, No. 26; Falk and Torp sub *svþbe*, II, pp. 1223-4; Fick sub *sui* I, 2 p. 553, *svib* 1 p. 556). The word *sviþr* was originally used in the sense of 'a quick, sudden move-

¹² Cf. also the words for ghost developed from the base *skei-* 'appear' under *ski* 'jugglery, sorcery' (No. 5).

ment' (cf. *sveipa* 'to swoop'), from which was later derived the sense of 'a fleeting glimpse, a glimpse of something fleeting, evanescent, like a ghost' or as Fritzner (1866) puts it: "Glimt, Syn som farer en hurtig forbi og derefter forsvinder."

The word *sjón-hverfing*, which is used synonymously with *skrí-pi* 'hallucination,' literally means 'a turning from the sight' = 'a fleeting glimpse,' which is exactly the same idea inherent in *sviþr*. For this same idea compare *flyka* (No. 2) which I have above literally translated by "a fleeting creature."

One can easily see that the basic idea in *skrípi* and *sviþr* is closely related, the point in common being 'a fleeting or faint glimpse of something,' a conception which, as shown above, is fundamental to many words denoting 'phantom.' The definition which Fritzner gives for *sviþr* could also be applied to *skrípi*.

My conjecture is that by virtue of this sense which both words had in common the word *skrí-p-i* could have borrowed¹³ its *-p-* from the word *svi-p-r*. But probably not directly. According to Cleasby-Vigfússon we have a word *skríþr* (*Edda*, 238) 'monster.' We may consider *skrípi* then as a neuter collective (*ja*-stem) to *skríþr* and that both words had the same basic sense. It is more likely, therefore, that the word *skrí-p-r* first borrowed the *-p-* from *svi-p-r* and that the *-p-* then was transferred from *skrí-p-r* to the derivative *skrí-p-i*. This borrowing of the *-p-* may have been furthered not only by the kindred basic sense of the two words, *skríþr* and *sviþr*, but also by their phonetic similarity.

I do not pretend, of course, to have substantiated the conjecture that the *-p-* in *skrí-p-i* was borrowed from *svi-p-r*. But I do contend that this conjecture is within the range of possibility. Blends of this nature, *i.e.* between words of similar sense and form, are very frequent in Germanic; cf. Leonard Bloomfield, "Etymologisches," *P. B. Beitr.* 37, p. 245 ff., 1912.

To quote only one parallel example from Bloomfield: ON. *gjal-pa*, OE. *giel-pan* > Eng. *yelp* (cf. Wood, No. 7). These words, denoting 'schreien, prahlen,' etc., go back to a root

¹³ Since there is no evidence that the *p*-extension in *skrí-pi* was original, the hypothesis of this analogy seems to me the more tenable view.

**gellan* related to the root **galan* 'singen, tönen,' etc. (Bloomfield, p. 253). Under the influence of such words, e.g., as **hwōpan* (Goth. *hwōpan*, OE. *hwōpan* > Eng. *whoop*), **wōppjan* (Goth. *wōppjan*, OE. *wēpan*), **hrōpan* (Goth. *hrōppjan*, OE. *hrōpan*), etc., all of which denoted a sense ('cry out') kindred to that of **gellan* ('resound, sing, cry out') was developed a new form **gel-pan*; the *-p-* was felt as belonging to a class of verbs denoting the idea of 'cry out.'

In a similar way I venture to explain the *p*-extension in *skrt-p-i* 'phantom' as due to analogy with the original *p*-extension in *svi-p-r* 'fleeting glimpse of something evanescent like a ghost.' An original form **skrt* would have denoted simply 'something faintly glimmering' ('ghost'), but with the *p*-extension the idea of 'something turning quickly, hallucination' was added.

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REVIEWS

HEIDERSKRIFT TIL MARIUS HÆGSTAD FRAA VENER OG LÆRESVEINAR. 15de juli, 1925. Olaf Norlis Forlag. Oslo, 1925. Pp. 176.

This volume presented to Professor Hægstad on his seventy-fifth birthday contains twenty-four articles mainly on Norwegian dialects and place names and the history of the language in the late Old Norwegian period. Nineteen of these articles are written in *landsmål* and five in *riksmål*. This is no doubt intended as a further compliment to Professor Hægstad, and a recognition of his position and his influence in the language movement in Norway since he began his active career about 1875. The volume is a fitting tribute to an industrious investigator whose labor has been crowned with many important achievements. Particularly significant was, it seems to me, his *Vestnorsk målføre*, a work that was fruitful of scientific results in so many respects, helping as it did toward a clearer and more correct view of the development of the Norwegian language in the period 1200-1350. There is no preface, or biographical sketch, or bibliography of publications. The congratulatory address is signed by ca. seventy-five scholars, all in Norway, it is a little bit surprising that it was made so strictly national in this way.

The opening article is entitled 'Det store mål-vende i 1885,' pp. 7-17, and is by Halvdan Koht. Koht shows that any real linguistic 'striving' (*målstrav*), did not exist in Norway until in the 70's (ca. 1875). Then in 1885 the movement receives a great new impulse; there were many happenings that presaged the development that was to come. Not the least of the new aspects of the matter that year was the fact that a small Young Peoples newspaper, published in Namsos, had now as its editor a young man by the name of Marius Hægstad, then principal of a folk-school, and also at the time a representative for North Trøndelag in the state legislature (Storting). Koht then discusses the manner in which Hægstad entered the arena, and what he contributed to the movement in that and the following years. Going back to the year 1875 the rôle played by Niels Juel and Lars Liestøl is given its proper setting, as also that by the *bonde* Per Bø in Gausdal in the same year.

Under the heading 'Embetsmenn og folkemåle i dansketida,' pp. 18-22, Ivar Kleiven presents an interesting picture of Danish officials and their struggles with the Norwegian language, showing how helpless they often were in the face of it (though he overemphasizes the difficulty sometimes, it seems to me). Of real interest are the examples of language mixture that Kleiven offers (p. 21), culled from the records of a long-drawn-out law-suit in the year 1667. The article on 'Inkjekyn minkar' by Albert Joleik supplements, slightly, earlier material by Aasen; there is not much that is new here. In closing the author says that if the Norwegian dialects had been permitted to grow freely without any written language (by which I assume he means the official and literary Danish) then the neuter gender would have disappeared even more extensively in some dialects. Well, possibly 'in some dialects' (when one recedes behind that). But the whole statement is a mere guess, and on the face

of it not likely, that Danish and Riksmål have operated to some extent to keep the Norwegian dialects from becoming two-gender dialect. I doubt it.

'Dativbruken i Albyggmålet,' pp. 105-112, by Jørgen Reitan, shows the appreciative discussion of Vinje's great poem 'No ser eg attar slike fjell og dalar,' pp. 149-163, and Ragnvald Iverson publishes an unprinted poem of Vinje's, pp. 145-148, found in the Boeck Ms. Collection, Trondhjem. One of the most valuable contributions in the volume is that on 'Teigenamn fraa Voss,' pp. 43-64, by Leiv Heggstad (who is a son of Marius Hægstad, the name being modernized, *æ* to *e*). He notes the numerous points of contact between such field-and-meadow names and other kinds of place-names; as elsewhere, cpd. names are dominant, but simple ones are numerous; plural names are often met with; indefinite forms are rare; in cpds. the first theme is often much reduced. (For the first theme or part, Norwegian *led*, he says *fyrelekken*, using a Voss-South Sogn dialect word; thus another dialect word is rescued for the *mål*, but how many of the readers know what he means?) The author has reaped a rich harvest; there are between 700-800 such names in Voss. Certain terms are naturally especially common as second theme (*aokurn*, *teigjen*, *hagjen*, *fløten*; but the single occurrences of *nøyte* (in *Vollnøyte*), and *seve*, 'strip,' *kvi*, 'hedge,' etc., are of great interest. As to *kvi*, 'hedge,' the word has long ago gone out of use and survives only in a name; cf. also *Snylto*, an earlier cotter's place in Ullestad, from *snylta*, 'corner,' 'cut-off bit.' Typical West Norwegian names involving a comparison are *Hønsafoten*, *Fuglauga*; but the two field-names *Vetturen* and *Summaren* are rather unusual (due to the nature of the soil?)).

In the same domain G. Indrebø considers 'Nokre stadnamn,' pp. 65-80; I shall note merely that the mountain name *Rondane* or *Rundane* derives from *Rondvatnet*, that the stem is ON. *ronð* (has nothing to do with the adj. *rund*); I think the author shows these things clearly. He would have the writing to be *Rondane* to which there is no objection. But as the source is *ronð*, and it was pronounced with an open *o* before the name became contaminated with the adj. *rund* in the popular mind (folk-etymology), he would have the pronunciation modified to *Røndane*. Does he suppose that any puristic doctrine will change the local (and now correct) pronunciation *Rondane* with close *e*?

Didruk Arup Seip writes about 'Talordet 100 i norsk,' pp. 99-104, Alf Sommerfelt on 'Nasalvokaler i gammelnorsk,' pp. 164-165, and Eilert Moe on 'Tonelagsvald og stavingar,' pp. 166-172, while Ernst W. Selmer offers 'Nogle bemerkninger om stød og tonelag,' pp. 90-98. C. J. S. Marstrander discusses the etymology of the word *trall*; while the source cannot be regarded as solved herewith, the author has shown clearly I think that the word cannot be from **branhila*, for the OIr. loanword was pronounced *tráll*. Of major importance in the volume are the two articles 'Himmelsfærene i vår gamle litteratur,' pp. 34-38, by Hjalmar Falk, and 'Hjadningekampen og Hallfreds arvedraapa over Olav Tryggvason,' pp. 23-33, by Magnus Olsen. In the former the author succeeds in interpreting those troublesome and peculiar names in Snorre's *pula* about the nine heavens (as *Andlangr himinn* now shown = *Andlegr himinn*). Of exceeding interest is Olsen's elucidation of the relation between

Hallfred's dirge for King Olaf Tryggvasson to the *Hjadninga-Heodeninga* saga. I shall not be able, however, to speak more fully of these or of the several articles that remain. But will close with a mere mention of Knut Liestøl's excellent investigation into the sources of that superb middle-age Norwegian poem *Draumkvæðel* (it has used Tundal's vision i.e., *Duggals leizla*), and the Vision of Gundelin). This enables Liestøl also to date the poem at ca. 1300, or slightly before.

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AN ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR OF OLD ICELANDIC. By Helen McMillan Buckhurst, M.A. (Oxon). London, 1925. Pp. 104 (86 Index, etc., 87-104).

It was with a great deal of pleasant expectation that I opened this little book with the words "Grammar of Old Icelandic" on the cover. An English grammar of Old Icelandic¹ has for thirty years been sorely needed, and now it seemed that at last this lack was to be supplied,—an English publisher had done that which no American publisher could be expected to do.² Opening the book and examining it I soon found things to disappoint me; I shall mention some of these below. But I am even now glad that this book has appeared, for it has two good features and in the hands of the right teacher it can be used to advantage in quite elementary classes.

The chief defect of this grammar is the attempt to teach something about Modern Icelandic in a grammar of Old Icelandic. There are constant references to and explanations of, post-Classical and present-day Icelandic pronunciation and forms. In attempting thus to present at once two things so remote and different as Old and Modern Icelandic, the author has failed of the real purpose of the book. The net result is a confused picture of what the former is like; and the merest make-shift as an introduction to the latter. The author gives her reason for this method on p. 4: while the pronunciation has changed the written language "remains almost the same; and when Old Icelandic texts are read aloud in Iceland today, the modern pronunciation is used. It is therefore advisable for the student to learn the modern as well as the old pronunciation" and further that some of the changes in Icelandic go back to the XIIIth century I do not understand the reasoning; and as for learning the modern Icelandic pronunciation, the many things brought into the discussion are yet but a merest fraction of the things that separate modern from Old Icelandic pronunciation.

There is first the short vowels, where *ö* is used for *ø* and *ø* both ("the symbol *ö* is used in Modern Icelandic to denote original *ø* and *ø* and is used throughout this book"). There is a reference to the change in the vowel ca. 1250, which need not be discussed here, except to remind ourselves that at 1250,

¹ More often: Old Norse.

² I have myself for some years had in my desk a MS. for a grammar of Old Norse for the most part ready; but the likelihood of securing a publisher seemed so remote that I have left it unfinished.

and after, they continued to write *land-lond* (or graphic equivalents of this), and *sökkva*-preterite *sökk*. But here this vb. is *sökkva-sökk-sukkm-sokkinn*. Also, then, *u*-umlaut of *a* and *i*-umlaut of *o* are written alike here (*nördri*, comparat. of *nordr*, and *sök* for *sok*). But they were surely not pronounced the same at 1250 to say nothing of 1200. The letter *q* is not used, but *a* (hence we have dpl. *löndum*, but *rädum*, *kápum*, etc.; and so adjs. and prons.).

The effect of this and similar things elsewhere is to add to the troubles of the student in learning the elements of the phonology. On pp. 5-7, the account of pronunciation, Old Icelandic and Modern Icelandic matters are dealt with side by side; the latter being generally introduced by 'now pronounced,' or 'has now become.' But the warning is not always given. On p. 7 I read: "*f* has the voiced sound (English *v*), unless initial or in the combination with voiceless sounds. [Ex.: *haf* (sea), *hafa* (to have).] When followed by *l*, *n*, or *d*, *f* is pronounced *b*. [Ex.: *afl* (strength), *hrafn* (raven), *lífði* (lived).] Hence *Ícl. abl. hrabn*, etc.!!

In Chapter II, Nouns, the method usually followed in Germanic grammars of presenting the nouns of the stems, or declensions, in order: *a*-stems, *o*-stems, etc., is not followed. Instead we have str. neuters, then str. masculines, st. feminines, minor declensions, then the wk. nouns in the order of gender. It is an unfortunate method (so also in Sweet's *Icelandic Primer*). Also the designation of the wk. vb. classes is not the best. Why not have followed Wimmer's order (as she has to advantage followed Wimmer in some other respects), or the Heusler order. But as Noreen's is the most complete, and the best known, and most used of all ON grammars, it would seem best to adhere to the order there used (I, *kalla*; II, *krefja*; III, *erfa*; IV, *duga*). I shall not take the space for mentioning various details.

The discussion of the Pronouns and the Numerals is eminently satisfactory. And that of the Adverbs, the Prepositions, and the Conjunctions is one of the two excellent features of the book. The other is the very full listing of nouns under each paradigm, and verbs under each class or 'type,' strong and weak. This is excellent and will be very helpful for the user of the book.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

On account of the Editor's absence in Europe this summer authors are respectfully requested not to send him any manuscripts between June 1 and September 15, 1927.

An Old Norse Triology

NORSE MYTHOLOGY

By P. A. MUNCH and MAGNUS OLSEN

Translated by S. B. HUSTVEDT

Since 1840 Peter Andreas Munch's handbook of NORSE MYTHOLOGY has been a standard work in Norway. Later scholarship has modified it but has not replaced it in popular favor or scholarly prestige. It is a tribute to the enduring quality of Munch's work that the authority of our day, Professor Magnus Olsen, of the Royal University of Norway, chose to bring up to date the older historian's text rather than attempt a new study. The result is NORSE MYTHOLOGY, translated from the Norwegian by Dr. S. B. Hustvedt.

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THEY WHO AWAIT THE SECOND DEATH

A STUDY IN THE ICELANDIC ROMANTIC SAGAS

The purpose of the following article is to study the material in the *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*¹ that deals with the Living Corpse. The essential idea behind the concept of the Living Corpse is, that the early ages knew no separation of a human being into body and soul. When a man died the whole man was put into the burial mound. He was dead, but in another and very real sense he was alive. He could come out of his narrow house and appear to men and deal with them; he had the desires of the living man; he could perform all the functions of the living man; he could eat, drink, fight, love, cohabit, and die. He died the second time when his body finally decayed or when its parts were so dismembered that they could not well be reunited, or, most certainly, when it was burnt. When the body was gone, there was nothing left. The Second Death ended all.

The concept of the Living Corpse is so old that it would be foolish to give even the most indefinite of datings to its origin. It belongs to the early mental life of humanity. It has lived on in the minds of men, side by side with later and contradictory ideas, even the christian idea of a soul without beginning or end. Nor has ecclesiastical tradition spurned it, for the bodies of many saints long dead are held to exercise the functions of the living. There are traces of it in the minds of most of us today, and there is no sign that it will ever cease to be.²

¹ C. C. Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, 3 Vols. (Kaupmannahöfn, 1829-30). Abbreviated *FAS*. Rafn's text is not cited in case there is a later and better edition. Ásmundarson's reprints are not cited because he often treats the text in an unscientific way. These sagas were mostly written between 1250 and 1325. Illustrative material from other sources of the same genre is included, such as *Saxo Grammaticus* and the Younger Edda and the *Ynglinga-saga*, all from early in the thirteenth century. The few later sources will be noted as they are introduced.

² The fundamental work on the Living Corpse is by Dr. Hans Schreuer, "Das Recht der Toten," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XXXIII

This study falls into three divisions, the Living Corpse, Figures with Attributes of the Living Corpse, the Dwarves.

A. THE LIVING CORPSE

I. SOURCES FOR THE LIVING CORPSE³

1

"That age [of burning corpses] lasted until the dawn of christianity. Therefore the peculiarity of the following age arose, that valiant and doughty men, after the bars of the mounds were broken, spoiled the dead of the best arms and gold and silver, but not without danger to themselves which the wrestling and the buffeting of the dead caused, a buffeting by which the dead must be conquered by the living before the booty is carried away.⁴

2

Ásmund and Aran vowed that the one of them who died last should sit three nights in the howe of the other, and then leave if he wished.⁵

"But when they had not been there a full month Aran died suddenly one day when he was going into his hall. His corpse was cared for according to their [i. e. the heathen] custom. Ásmund had a howe thrown up over him and had set by the side of him his horse with saddle and bridle, his banner and all his armor, hawk and hound. Aran sat on a chair in full armor. Ásmund had his own chair brought into the howe and sat down thereon. The howe was now closed, and the first night Aran got up from his chair and killed the hawk and the hound and ate both. The next night Aran got up and killed the horse and sundered it and began a great crunching with his teeth so that the blood fell about his chops. He invited Ásmund to meat with him. The third night Ásmund began to get sleepy

(1916), 333-432, XXXIV (1916), 1-208. Also E. Mogk, "Altergermanische Spukgeschichten," *Neue Jahrbücher für kl. Alt., Gesch. u. Pädagogik*, XLIV (1919), 103-117. For its [present] final phrasing, Hans Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur* (Jena, 1921), 18 ff.

³ Those sources to which reference is made more than once are presented in series. Quotation marks enclose direct translations. Passages not so enclosed are summaries.

⁴ Axel Olrik, "Skjoldungasaga i Arngrim Jonssons Udtog," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, II. Række, IX (1894), 109. This is from the end of the 16th cent., but based on old sources.

⁵ *Egils saga ok Ásmundar*, FAS III, 376.

and he noticed nothing before Aran grabbed him by the ears and tore them both off. Ásmund then drew his sword and cut off Aran's head and after that he made a fire and burned Aran to ashes and then went to the rope; he was then hauled up and the howe closed and Ásmund had with him that wealth which had been laid in the mound.^{6,7}

3

Thráin had won Valland by spells. Heathen warriors had put him alive in the howe with his treasures. He was called a corpse, was black and swollen and full of enchantment. He fought with his nails. Warriors broke into his mound and found him sitting on a chair, hoarse, large, puffing out his cheeks and blowing at the fire over which he was cooking the bodies of men in a kettle. He had corpses piled up and was grasping and plucking among them.

Hrómund went down on a rope and took the treasure away from the *draug*.⁸ Thráin's face was not like a man's but like little devils' (*púkum*). In youth he was bad and cruel.

Hrómund took the famous sword Mistiltein from where it was hanging on a pillar. He began abusing Thráin, called him black and dead, whereat Thráin referred to himself as dead. When Hrómund cast aside the sword the *draug* accepted the challenge to fight and they began to wrestle. Thráin clawed Hrómund's flesh from his bones from neck to loins, but Hrómund tripped him, cut off his head with Mistiltein, and burned him. Hrómund carried off Thráin's treasures.⁹

⁶ *Ibid*, 378 f.

⁷ The story of Asmundus and Aswitus in *Saxo Grammaticus* [Ed. Holder, 161 ff.] is practically identical with that of Ásmund and Aran (2). In the former Asmundus enters the howe to stay permanently instead of only three nights if he so chooses, and the unexplained presence of the rope by which Ásmund escapes is motivated in Saxo by the howe-breakers coming to rob and letting down a man in a basket, whose place Asmundus took. This difference shows that the transmission of Saxo's story is the better. The text is older. A. LeRoy Andrews in *Modern Philology*, IX (1911-12), 371 ff. shows that the tradition behind Saxo's story is the main source of the story of Hrómund and Thráin (3) and in close relation to both the story of Grettir's struggle with the living corpse Kárr in the *Grettissaga* [ed. Boer, chap. 18] and the story of the entrance of Horth into the howe of Söti the Viking in the *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar* [*Íslendinga sögur* II, chap. 15]. Wolf von Unwerth (*Untersuchungen über Totenkult und Odinverehrung bei Nordgermanen und Lappen* [Breslau, 1910], 20 ff.) holds much the same opinion.

⁸ *Draugr* is the Icelandic name for Living Corpse.

⁹ The story of Thráin is best known from the *Hrómundar saga Grípssonar*, *FAS* II, 367 ff. This is not the oldest attainable form, but is only a seventeenth

4

"But Agnar . . . got together much wealth and made himself a big howe and went therein alive as his father had done, with all the crew of his ship, and turned into a troll over his wealth."¹⁰

5

"Do you remember now, Sigurth, that which we said when we mounted one bed, that you would come to claim me and await me from Hel?"¹¹

6

"I do not deny that Hel has pleasure with the corpse of Dyggvi, for the sister of the Wolf and of Narfi was fated to choose a man of royal race, and Loki's daughter has ensnared the ruler of the folk of Yngvi."¹²

7

"And Loki's daughter invited the king from the upper world to a love meeting, when Halfdan, who dwelt at Holtar, had enjoyed the span of life granted him by the norms. And the victorious men buried then the prince at Borro."¹³

8

The maiden Hervor, dressed as a warrior, calling herself by a man's name and leading a band of vikings, started out to get

century paraphrase of the *Griplur*, a set of *rimur* from about 1400, which are themselves based on a much older but lost saga of Hrómund Gripsson. See Andrew's article cited in note 7 above. My summary (3) is based on parts of the second and third *rimur* of the *Griplur*. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn I* (København, 1905-12), 366-380.

¹⁰ F. R. Schröder, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar* (Halle, 1917), 139. See also p. 138, l. 15 f., and note to l. 3, p. 139.

¹¹ Magnus Olsen, *Volsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar* (København, 1906-08), 108. The idea of the dead husband returning to seek union with his wife was already familiar to the North from the passage in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, extending from the prose following stanza 39 to the end.

¹² *Ynglingasaga* in Finnur Jónsson, *Heimskringla* (København, 1893-1900), I, 32. Also IV, 8 f. Prof. Jónsson says; "*Digteren taler, som om Hel med trolddom havde fået kongen i sin magt til elskovsfryd.*" This stanza and our No. 7 made little impression on Snorri Sturluson, who quotes them from the *Ynglingatal* of Þjóðólfr af Hvíni, a poem from around 900. The only conclusion he draws is that Dyggvi and Halfdan died of illness. These may be only bold metaphors for death, but they at least bear witness to the existence of the idea of necrophilia.

¹³ *Ibid.* I, 80 and IV, 24 f.

the wealth hoarded in the grave mound of her father and his brothers. When she wished to land at Samsø her men objected that many evil wights walked there by day and by night. She entered a boat and rowed alone to land at sunset. The herdsman on the island warned her that it was a dangerous place. She saw the howe-fires burning and the howe-dwellers standing outside their mounds, but she did not fear. She came to the howe of the berserks and summoned her father to give her the famous sword Tyrfing, which he had in the tomb with him, but got no reply. She called them all to waken as they lay 'neath the roots of trees with helm and byrnie, sharp sword, shield and gear and reddened spear. She reviled them, said that they were nigh mouldered to dust, that they refused to speak. If they did not now give her the sword might they be at heart as if they mouldered in ant-hills.

Angantýr warned her that she was doing a fearful thing in wakening dead men and denied that he had Tyrfing with him. She prayed that the god might let him dwell hale in the howe if he were speaking the truth, but reproached him with being unwilling to give his only child the heirloom. Angantýr, her father, tried to frighten her from her resolution, but she was steadfast. He told her that Tyrfing would slay all her brood, but she replied; "I so enchant dead men that ye shall all lie dead with the *draugar* rotting in the cairn. Give me, Angantýr, from out the howe, the danger of shields, Hjalmar's bane."

Angantýr gave her Tyrfing, repeated that it would bring her a wretched fate, and bestowed upon her his paternal good will.¹⁴

9

"Frey took sick and when the sickness became serious people took council and let but few men come to him, and they prepared a great howe and made doors to it and three windows. But when Frey was dead they bore him secretly to the howe and told the Swedes that he was alive and took care of him there for three years. But they put all the taxes into the howe,

¹⁴ Jón Helgason, *Heiðreks saga* (København, 1924). This is a summary from MS R, printed at the top of the page by Helgason, of matter from pages 16, 17, 19, 20, 21; of MS H, at bottom of page, from 21; R from 22; H from 28, 6-24; R from 28, 1-32, 3; H 32, 14-33, 18. It is the famous *Incantation of Hervor* published anonymously in English translation in London in 1763 by Bishop Percy in his *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*. For the further history of this poem in English literature see Frank E. Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement, Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, IX (Boston 1903) 44 ff.

in one window gold, in another silver, and in the third copper pennies. Then good crops and peace continued. . . . When all the Swedes knew that Frey was dead, but good crops and peace kept up, then they believed that it would be so while Frey was in Sweden, and they were not willing to burn him, and called him world-god and worshipped him most for good crops and peace ever since."¹⁵

10

The daughter of the king of the Irish sent in the night a maid to bring Hrólfr's sword from the field of battle. She went but came back without the sword and said that "dead men were walking on all sides."¹⁶

11

"Then Hrólfr saw a howe as big as a mountain and a high fence of palings about it, and he took hold of a paling with his hand and vaulted over; then he went up on the howe and it seemed very hard to him to break open, and when he looks about he sees on the north side of the howe a man of large size in the dress of a king. Hrólfr went to him and greeted him with a king's greeting and asked him his name. He says: 'I am Hreggvith and I dwell in this howe with my champions and you are welcome here.' " The king gives Hrólfr a suit of armor which must be worn by the man who would defeat Sörkvir, and a choice sword; he adds much good advice, tells him that he [Hreggvith] can leave the howe three times, but the third time it is to be closed up again after he goes back in, and invites Hrólfr to come again if he has further needs. These events occurred by day."¹⁷

12

"But as soon as men were asleep Hrólfr got up quietly. He went to where Dulcifer was and mounted on his back and rode till he came to Hreggvith's howe; it was bright moonlight. Hrólfr got off the horse and went up on the howe. He sees where King Hreggvith is sitting outside at the foot of the howe and looking at the moon, and he spoke [these stanzas].

'Hreggvith is glad at the good faring of Hrólfr the Bold hither to the land. This hero will avenge the prince on Eirek and them all.

¹⁵ *Ynglingasaga* in Finnur Jónsson, *Heimskringla*, I, 23 f.

¹⁶ *Detter, Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, 63 f.

¹⁷ *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *FAS* III, 280 f.

Hreggvith is glad at Grím's death, Thóρθ's, and therewith their life-hours' end. That flock of foes of mine will be forced before Hrólfr to bow.

Hreggvith is glad that Hrólfr gets the young maid Ingigerth. The prince, Sturlaug's son, will steer Holmgarth.'

Hrólfr stepped up and greeted him worthily. The king took his greeting well and asked him how he was getting on. Hrólfr says; 'You probably know that exactly, even if I should not tell you about it; but the battle hereto has treated us harshly by reason of the great loss of men which we have suffered, and it is now for you to give us some good counsels which will be of help to us.' Hreggvith said; 'Now there seems to me a good chance that you will avenge me and victory will be granted to you, though it looks unlikely. Here are two buckets which you shall take; and give to your men from one as soon as they awake in the morning, but from the smaller bucket shall you and Stefnir drink, and from that time on nothing will cause a disagreement between you. I am able to tell you that as soon as Stefnir saw the beauty of my daughter Ingigerth he intended her for himself and not for Thorgný his father nor for you. Now I wish you to have her, but Stefnir will be pleased with what you wish as soon as you two have drunk from the same bucket. Here are also a knife and a belt which I shall give you, and such treasures will not be found in the North. You shall give them only to that man to whom you think you owe a great favor.

And now we must part for the present and never see each other again. You shall now close up the howe as I have already told you. Bear my greetings to my daughter Ingigerth. I would that all the valor and good fortune which formerly accompanied me may turn to you. Fare now hale and well! May all things go according to your desires!' Then Hreggvith walked backwards into the howe, but Hrólfr closed up the howe as he was commanded, and then he got on Dulcifal and turned homewards."¹⁸

13

"My howe shall stand by the firth, and it will be but a short way between Thorstein and me, and it is well that we call to each other."¹⁹

14

"Bóthvar said; 'Hardy is the company of Skuld, and I suspect that the dead wander here and rise up again and fight

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 333-335.

¹⁹ Wenz, *Die Friðhjófssaga* (Halle, 1914), 4.

against us, and it will be hard to fight against *draugar*, . . . and now are the dead most cruel to deal with and we have no might against them. . . ."²⁰

15

"The dead bodies also were seen to revive, the devil of course having gone back into them, and to start up a terrible tempest against the Danes."²¹

16

"I met King Hiorvarth before in the former skirmish . . . and I cut off his hand and foot, and got a second blow on his shoulder and so along downwards through side and back, and he reacted thus, that he did not die; and when he slept a while but I thought him dead—and few of that sort are found—he fought afterwards no less gallantly than before, and I never can tell what he will do."²²

17

a

Hethin, deceived by enchantment, killed the wife of his friend Hogni, and carried away his daughter Hild. The men met on the island of Há to fight. "It is truthfully said that so great spells and wickedness accompanied these fates that though they clove each other down through the shoulders, yet they stood up as before and fought. Hild sat in a grove and looked on that play. This misery and hardship continued all the time from when they began to fight until Olaf Tryggvason became king in Norway. Men say it was one hundred and forty-three years before it was allotted to this distinguished man King Olaf that his courtier should free them from this piteous calamity and these great vexations." These battles took place only at night.²³

b

"Then began the battle which is called *Hjaðningavíg*, and they fought all that day and at evening the kings went to their ships. But Hild went during the night to where the slain lay and wakened by magic all of them that were dead; and the next day the kings went to the field of battle and fought, and also all those who fell the first day. Thus the battle went one day after another, that all they who fell and all the weapons

²⁰ Finnur Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka ok Bjarkarímur*, 103.

²¹ Axel Olrik, *Skjoldungasaga*, 119.

²² Finnur Jónsson, *supra* 104.

²³ *Flateyjarbók*, I, 281–283. For other references in Old Scandinavian literature to the *Hjaðningavíg* see Friedrich Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, 154 ff.

which lay on the battlefield and all the shields turned to stone. But when it dawned all the dead men got up and fought and all the weapons could be used."²⁴

c

Saxo Grammaticus tells the story of the occasion of the quarrel between Hethin and Hogni, and that they slew each other. He adds: "People tell that the yearning of Hilda for her husband was so great that she by means of spells called up the souls of the fallen at night to renewed battle."²⁵

18

"Finn the Rich of Akranes, a *landnámsmaðr*, lay at Qgvaldsnes ready to sail for Iceland and asked how long ago King Qgvald fell. He heard this verse spoken in the howe:

'It was long ago they held their course. Many of Hekling's men sailed the salty path of the salmon. Then I became lord of this hill.'²⁶

19

"When he [*Ivarr beinlauss Ragnarsson*] lay in mortal illness he said that he should be brought to where the land was exposed to raids, and that he expected that they who landed there would not get the victory. And when he died it was done as he had commanded in advance and he was laid in a howe, and many say that when King Harald Sigurtharson came to England he arrived there where Ívar was and he falls in that raid. And when William the Bastard came to the land he broke up Ívar's howe and saw Ívar unrotted, and he had a great bale made and Ívar burnt on the bale. And after that he fought to win the land and got good fortune."²⁷

20

a

"A howe is to be built for me [*Grím ægir*] and set out in front by the sea, and death will be certain to all of those who first land there, who approach from the sea."

b

"... in the third [howe] *Grím ægir* was put out in front by the sea where there was least likelihood that a ship would land."²⁸

²⁴ Þorleifr Jónsson, *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, 145.

²⁵ Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, 160.

²⁶ A. LeRoy Andrews, *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka* (Halle, 1909), 73. See Andrews note to this passage for parallels to *draug* speaking in the howe.

²⁷ Magnus Olsen, *Völsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, 169.

²⁸ *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *FAS* III, 344, 348.

II. STATE OF THE LIVING CORPSE

We see that it was regarded as possible for a living man, voluntarily, without tasting of the first death, to take on himself the lot of those who await the final dissolution. In the instances concerned both men are cruel and wicked enchanter. Thráin was carried alive into the howe with his treasures by heathen men. He was called dead by others and by himself, for he had become a *draug* (3). Agnar took with him his whole crew and his wealth and became a troll, in this instance a treasure-guarding demon (4). Ásmund, however, a noble hero, entered the howe as the result of a friendship pact, left when his friend became a dangerous troll, and returned alive to the living (2).

The other howe-dwellers all entered the howe through the portals of death.

Their physical appearance is that of the corpse; it soon swells and becomes black, and later shrivels up. We shall find the latter stage in the chapter on Dwarves, but the first stage in Thráin (3), who is black and swollen. The fearful picture is completed by suitable details; he puffs out his cheeks as he blows the fire, his voice is hoarse, his face unlike the faces of men, but like those of small evil spirits, he was slow to move, he was dead.

Death is indeed a mysterious thing and those who experienced it are the objects of fear; and fear raised all their qualities to a higher potentiality, gave them frightful attributes, dangerous qualities, and supernatural powers. Thráin was a cannibal, his food consisted of human bodies which he cooked in a kettle, and he fingered the heaps of corpses (3). Aran was also a ravenous eater of foul things, hawk, dog, horse, flesh of man; one heard the crunching of his food, blood flowed down his chops (2). The Living Dead are usually malevolent; they fight (1, 3, 14, 16, 17), even their best friend (2); they cause death (19, 20); they make threats (8); they hoard property (1, 3, 4) and refuse it even to their sole heir (8). They use evil magic (3, 4).²⁹ Men feared the Living Dead; it was dangerous

²⁹ Not all the dead were malevolent. Hreggvith was noble in life and in death. He gave freely sword, armor, advice, helpful magic drinks, granted his daughter in marriage to a hero and left his blessing to both (11, 12). But

to meet them as they stood outside the howe and still more so to summon those sleeping in the howe to waken (8). It was also a fearful thing to meet them in battle, for their powers availed more than those of mortals (14, 15), and a christian age explained the presence of the dead in the ranks of the warriors as due to the act of the devil (15). One did not approach the dwellings of the dead without weighty reason; to rob, a bold enterprise which added renown to a warrior's name (1, 3), to obtain an heirloom (8), or to get needed help and advice (11, 12).

The dead were found in their howes (1, 2, 3, 4, 8), standing at the door of the howe (8), or waiting at one side of the howe (11, 12). In answer to a summons the howe may open and the *draug* appear (8). They are also seen walking on a field where a battle had occurred the day before (10). One often meets them abroad at night (8, 10, 11, 17, a, b, c). A hero visiting a howe-dweller finds him outdoors looking at the moon (12). More rarely one meets them by day (11) but the battles in which the dead fought in the ranks of the living must have taken place by daylight (14, 15, 16); indeed in places badly infested with *draugar* they may be seen at any time (8).

The dead conversed with the living: the living friend in the howe (2), the enemy who had invaded the howe to rob (3), the daughter who appeared at the howe to demand an heirloom (8), a hero who came to the howe for aid and counsel (11, 12), a chance traveller (18).

A dead man could be king. Snorri's tale about Frey (9) is a confused attempt to rationalize a story about a *draug* in a howe who was king, a living corpse which collected taxes and performed the royal functions of securing good crops and peace.³⁰

it is significant that he seemed at the beginning of his career as a Living Corpse to realize that his conduct was much better than was expected of him as such, for, although no one accused him, he promptly explained that he had not caused the blizzard nor the foul stench nor the other wonders nor the deaths of men [FAS III, 280]. The *Gongu-Hrólfs saga*, which contains this incident, is a late and sophisticated romance.

³⁰ Most *draugar* are bad, but that Frey was a good *draug* need not surprise us, for he had been a good king while alive.

A dead man is able to hold commerce with a woman. The live Guthrún longs for the promised return of her dead Sigurth to claim her as his wife (5), as the dead Helgi claimed Sigrún when she made a rendezvous with him to rest in his arms (11). Hel, grim goddess, beguiled two dead kings into satisfying her lust (6, 7).

The dead not only performed the physical functions of the living, but they cherished the sentiments of living men; they clung to their treasures (1, 3, 4, 8), they blessed their children (8, 12), they rejoiced in the prosperity of their friends and the discomfiture of their enemies (12).³¹ For themselves, they resented the imputation of niggardliness and feared the threat of the second death (8).

Life in the howe was not happy, at least in the view of a christian age (17 a).

III. RIGHTS OF THE LIVING CORPSE

They who passed from the world of men to the life in the howe took with them their social status. Aran (2) and Thráin (3) sat, not on a bench like henchmen, but in a chair like the head of a household, and Ásmund brought his chair to the howe (2), for he was of equal rank with Aran. Nor did the great lack the dignity of life which had been theirs, for they were attended by their retinue.

"Án had a large howe made and put a ship in it and set Thórir in the captain's place and the king's men down each side in order that it should seem that they were all to serve him."³²

Agnar took with him his crew (4) and Hreggvith his champions (11). His daughter bargained with his slayers that her father should be worthily buried and set on a chair.³³

They also had rights to property and each took with him such things as he had used in his station in life. They had their

³¹ Why did Hreggvith walk backwards into the howe when he entered it for the last time? Was he paying a courteous farewell to Hrólfr, or a piteous one to the world, or was there another reason?

³² *Ans saga bogsveigis*, FAS II, 354.

³³ FAS III, 246.

treasure (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9), Thráin had Mistiltein (3), Agantýr had Tyrning (8), and Hreggvith armor and sword (11). The dead had choice gold, silver and arms (1), horse, saddle, bridle, armor, hawk, hound (2), helm, byrnie, sword, shield, spear and other war gear (8). Thráin fought bitterly to retain his sword and wealth and endured the Second Death in their defense (3). Angantýr lied to retain Tyrning, but gave it up because he feared the threatened Second Death (8). Agnar so loved his riches that he turned into a treasure guarding troll (4). A *draug* who was king continued to collect taxes (9).

Not only did the dead retain their rights to property, but those about to die, having of course a right to dispose of their possessions, could elect to keep it for themselves in death. After King Hring died, "a howe was made for him and much wealth put in at his request."³⁴ Persons about to fight each other were engaged in preliminary arrangements;

"Angantýr said: 'If any of us survives then he shall not rob the others of weapons; I wish to have Tyrning [a sword] in the earth with me though I die. Odd shall have his short sword and arrows and Hjalmar his byrnie though he fall at my hand.' So they agree that those who are the victors shall build up a howe after the others."³⁵

This right to dispose of property, a right which projects the exertion of a man's powers beyond the span of his normal life, a right which the dead maintain by force of arms, finds its correspondence in the right of the individual to dispose of himself after death, to determine the place and manner of his burial and thus to provide for his future comfort (13, 19, 20)

"It was a prince of this age, Dan II, king of Denmark, who ordered that he be put in a howe when dead, equipped with all his arms, with his horse and complete panoply of war, and that he be placed in a high seat as if alive."³⁶

Guthrún says to her hated husband, Atli, in answer to his request for a suitable burial:

³⁴ L. Larsson, *Sagan och rimorna om Friðþjófr hinn frækni*, 36.

³⁵ R. C. Boer, *Qrvar-Odds saga*, (Leiden, 1888), 101.

³⁶ Axel Olrik, *Skjoldungasaga*, 109.

"A ship will I buy and a painted coffin,
I will wax well the shroud to wind round thy corse,
Will care for each need as if we two loved."³⁷

In the prose paraphrase she says:

"I will have made for you an honorable grave and a worthy stone coffin and wrap you in fair cloths and provide every necessity for you."³⁸

Hildebrand asks burial clothes of his brother who had given him a mortal wound in battle, saying:

"I bid of thee, brother, one prayer, one prayer. Pray do not deny [me]; wrap thou me in thy weeds as seldom will do another's slayer."³⁹

When Qrvar-Odd was about to die he provided that

"Forty men shall sit over me and other [forty] shall go to make me a stone coffin and bring up wood, because I will have everything burnt up as soon as I am dead."⁴⁰

Previously a friend had made this request of him:

"Now will I ask this of you, Odd, that you do not let me be buried by the side of such evil wights as the berserks have been, because I think I have been much better than they."⁴¹

One of the tales concerning men who had been drowned at sea and so could not be put in a howe, was that they came to the sea goddess Rán. When Friðþjóf and his men feared shipwreck he said:

"Now it is certain that we shall go to Rán, and let us equip ourselves bravely; and each of us shall have gold on him and we shall cut asunder the ring Ingibjorg's-Gift and divide it among ourselves."⁴²

Although Grim ægir was an evil person, who after death would be a constant source of danger, yet his body was not burned, since he had before death disposed of it by oral testament (20).

³⁷ *Atlamöl*, 103.

³⁸ Magnus Olsen, *Völsunga saga*, 104.

³⁹ Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, 99.

⁴⁰ Boer, *op. cit.* 194.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 105.

⁴² Wenz, *Die Friðþjófssaga*, 15. See also stanza 9 on same page.

The living recognized also that dead men, whether friends or enemies, possessed the right to be buried in accordance with their status in life. After a battle in which many heroes had been slain.

"A howe was made for King Hrólfr and the sword Skofnung was laid by his side, and a howe was made for each champion and some weapon placed beside him."⁴³

In the following incident the second group mentioned are the defeated enemies, who are given honorable burial by the victors.

"Hrólfr put his father Sturlaug in one [howe] and Hrafn's brother Krák and all the choicest champions of their company who had fallen; gold and silver and good weapons were put into that howe and it was well equipped. In another were set King Eirek, Brynjólf and Thórth and their favorite men,—but the common people were put in cairns where they had fallen."⁴⁴

In the following the berserks are the defeated enemy.

"Now Odd drags all the berserks together in one heap and piles wood around them. That is a short way from the sea. He puts in there with them their weapons and clothes and robs them of nothing at all. Then he bears turf on top of them and pours on sand."

Odd then proceeds to bury his own men in a separate howe.⁴⁵ Hring had defeated his kinsman King Harald in battle, but though he was an enemy he gave him a royal burial.

"Then King Hring had the corpse of his kinsman King Harald taken and washed of blood and honorably cared for after the old [i. e. heathen] custom; he had the corpse laid in that wagon which King Harald had taken to battle, and after that he had a large howe built up and he had the corpse driven in that wagon and by that horse which King Harald had taken to battle; and he had it driven into the howe and afterwards the horse was killed. And then he had the saddle taken which he himself had ridden and gave it to King Harald his kinsman, and he offered him whichever he wished, to ride or to drive. And he then had a great feast made there and he gave a funeral to his kinsman King Harald; and before the howe was closed

⁴³ Finnur Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka ok Bjarkarímur*, 107.

⁴⁴ *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* FAS III, 348. The cairn seemed to the sagaman a less dignified form of sepulture than the howe.

⁴⁵ Boer, *op. cit.* 106.

up King Hring bids all the great men and all the champions who were there to cast into the howe great rings and good weapons as an honor to King Harald Wartooth, and after that the mound was carefully closed up."⁴⁶

Thus we see that the dead possessed rights and that they were, within the jurisprudence of custom, persons at law. All men recognized that the violation of these simple and fundamental rights constituted the grossest injustice, for the character and amount of the property taken into the tomb and the place and manner of burial determined the poverty or luxury under which the Living Dead existed and conditioned their happiness or misery.

IV. THE SECOND DEATH

If a man die shall he live again? He certainly may, answers Germanic antiquity, and he may also die again, for there is a Second Death when the body decays. The people of an older day could not conceive of life in the tomb or elsewhere apart from the body, and the destruction of the body destroyed at the same time every vestige of the person, and therefore prevented him from walking after death. Not every person who died became a *draug*, but every one who died might become one, for no one knew which corpse would decay and which would survive as a *draug* and thus be a constant source of fear. Consequently it was safest to destroy the body of any dangerous or evil person.

Conversely, the way to keep a *draug* alive was to protect the physical body from destruction; so the leaders of the Swedes "took care of" (9) Frey for three years, and then the people refused to have him burnt because he was beneficial to them; and in course of time, triumphant over death, he became the god of the world. Thus the process of becoming a god is related by Snorri, who as a christian, looked with distrust and half humorous contempt on the heathen gods. And probably his story is not far wrong, and many a *draug* attained godhead in this way.

⁴⁶ *Sögubrot af Fornkonunungum*, FAS I, 386.

The Living Dead believed in the Second Death and trembled; they fought to protect themselves from it (1, 3), and gave up their dearest possessions when threatened with it (8).⁴⁷

Burning was the accepted way of laying a spook, for no more complete destruction can be imagined.

William the Conqueror found Ívar's body whole and burnt it, and Ívar ceased to trouble the countryside (9). Ásmund burnt Aran (2) and Hrómund burnt Thráin (3); their lives were ended. Grímhild was the mother of the demoniac Ógmund Eythjófsbani. She had been a dangerous sorceress and in her latter days had turned into a monster. When Orvar-Odd killed her he evidently feared that she might walk after death, for he had her burnt up.⁴⁸ Viking's party had been fighting against Ingjald and suddenly Ingjald was gone and a terrible boar was attacking them. Viking killed the boar and "They saw that Ingjald lay there dead; then they made a fire and burnt him up to cold coals."⁴⁹ Gøngu-Hrólf killed the cabin-dweller Atli Ötryggsson, a dangerous and an evil man. He burnt Atli up and stayed in the cabin over night.⁵⁰ Hálfðan killed the spell-worker Kol and his daughter Gullkúla and spent the night in their cabin in the woods, but failed to destroy their bodies. "In the night when Hálfðan was asleep both Kol and his daughter came in and they attacked Hálfðan. The dog sprang up and tore Gullkúla at the groin and dragged the intestines out of her. Hálfðan tackled the cabin-dweller [Kol] low and they wrestled a long time, and it ended thus, that Hálfðan felled him and broke his neck. Then he made fire and burnt them up."⁵¹ Later the same hero fought with a second spell-worker, Hallgeir. He cut off his head and burnt him on a bale and stayed over night in his cabin.⁵²

⁴⁷ The writer of the Apocalypse, from which one passage is cited by Naumann, appeals to the fear of the Second Death, for he twice takes pains to explain what it is: Rev. XX: 14 "This is the second death—the fiery lake," and Rev. XXI:8 " . . . and all liars shall find themselves in the burning lake of fire and brimstone. This is the second death." Twice he tells how it can be avoided: Rev. II:11 "He who is victorious will not be hurt by the second death," and Rev. XX:6 "Blessed and holy is the man who experiences the first resurrection! The second death has no power over them." Citations from Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The New Testament, an American Translation* (Chicago, 1925).

⁴⁸ Boer, *op. cit.* 130. This is the late 15 Cent. version of MS S.

⁴⁹ *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, FAS II, 403.

⁵⁰ *Gøngu-Hrólf's saga*, FAS III, 253–4.

⁵¹ F. R. Schröder, *Hálfðanar saga Eysteinnssonar* (Halle, 1917), 121–2.

⁵² *Ibid.* 123.

Since the body was the source of trouble any method of removing it would rid the neighborhood of annoyance.

The same Hálfðan fought with a third spell-worker, Sel, cut off his head and cast him into a torrent that ran near by.⁵³

Placing a decapitated head where it could not easily be restored to its place was sometimes effective too.

Án had killed a dangerous highwayman in a cabin. "He cut off his head and dragged him out of doors and stuck his nose in his crotch so that he might not walk as a dead man."⁵⁴

A field of battle was a particularly dangerous place (10, 14), for there lay many dead, and ordinary methods would be too slow, so magic must help out.

"They took another field of battle because the same one could not be used on account of the bodies of the slain. Mondul goes twice withershins about the slain; he blew and whistled in all directions and gibbered ancient lore over them and said the slain would not become a danger to them [the living]."⁵⁵

This must have been potent magic, for Grim, who was a mighty enchanter,

"went thither where the slain lay and turned over those who were dead and tried to raise them up, but did not succeed."⁵⁶

B. FIGURES WITH ATTRIBUTES OF THE LIVING CORPSE

In the Romantic Sagas there are some living heroes, who, like the *draug*, exert a vastly high potency. They are not specifically awaiting the Second Death, but they resemble those who are doing so. They have many traits of the Living Corpse, but much of the experiences and fates of mortals. The tales concerning them have undergone a process of novellization in which an evil hero has been decked with the appurtenances of the living Corpse, or a *draug* has been made over into a human hero.⁵⁷ There is a great interval in the dignity of these beings;

⁵³ *Ibid.* 125.

⁵⁴ *Ans saga bogsveigis*, *FAS* II, 346.

⁵⁵ *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *FAS* III, 337.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 338.

⁵⁷ Mogk, "Altgermanische Spukgeschichten" 113 ff., accounts for Grendel in the latter way.

they range from fiends incarnate and invincible to the cheap ruck of wizards. At no point, however, can one draw a line and say: thus far goes the influence of the Living Corpse and no farther.

Two such novellized characters, Ogmund Eythjófsbani and Grím ægir, who in degree of novellization and potency of *draug*-like qualities, stand above and apart from the rest, are presented here in detail.

V. SOURCES FOR FIGURES WITH ATTRIBUTES OF THE LIVING CORPSE

21

a

Odd, a hero fated to live three hundred years, and equipped with a magic protecting shirt and magic arrows, with his foster brothers Hjalmar and Thorth came across two ships. After verbal sparring with Ogmund, the master, they agreed to fight. Ogmund had black hair with a long black shag down over his face and was all black in the countenance except eyes and teeth. He had with him eight men who looked as he did, more like trolls than men, upon whom iron did not bite. After a long battle Ogmund offers peace and asks how Odd likes the fight. He is pleased, but his sword has no effect on these men. Ogmund's experience was the same and he says that if they keep on all will fall except himself and Odd, and if they still fight, Odd will be the better for a longer life is allotted him. They fight a second time and Ogmund says the fight is even and they agree to stop. Odd said he was dealing with fiends and not with men.

After parting the three foster brethren go each about his task, but when they return Odd and Hjalmar find Thorth dead, pierced by a spear. They are certain that Ogmund did it and hunt him long and in vain.⁵⁸

b

[126] Rauthgrani, who is Othin in disguise, advised Odd not to fight Ogmund, for no human being can defeat him. Ogmund was begotten by a heathen king of Bjarmaland on a giantess

⁵⁸ R. C. Boer, *Orvar-Odds saga* (Halle, 1892), 46-48. Reference to this battle also in stanza 46, p. 82. This passage from MS S, early fourteenth century, contains all that the old saga gives about Ogmund. To the final motive, that the death of Thorth is unavenged, are appended the interpolations that follow, found in MS A and its congeners, from the fifteenth century.

from a waterfall for the purpose of taking revenge on Odd for his raid in Bjarmaland. He was sent to Lapland at three years of age to learn enchantment, and returned, fully learned, at seven, a grown man, big and ugly. The Bjarmar had enchanted, worshipped, and betrothed him, so that [127] he was like no mortal man, but was rather a spirit. His mother turned into a monster and was sent after Odd, [129] but the hero killed her with his magic arrows.

[131 f.] Odd learns that Qgmund has sailed far away to avoid him, but he pursues, encountering Qgmund's enchantments by the way. [133] Qgmund wrestles with Vignir, Odd's giant son, and kills him. They kill all of each other's men, but when they find they can not slay each other, [134] Qgmund dives into the ocean to escape further purposeless fighting.

Rauthgrani tells Odd whither Qgmund has gone and that he has married a giantess troll. [135-136] Odd catches up with Qgmund and wrestles with him. One of Odd's men then hews from Qgmund's buttocks as much as a horse could drag. Qgmund goes underground, but Odd grasps him by the beard and tears off all his face. The earth closes over Qgmund's head.

c

[186-190] There ruled in Holmgarthir a king called Kvillanus who always wore a mask on his face and whose kin and native land were unknown. Odd vowed to find who this king was and sought him out. They tilted for three days and were even. Kvillanus proposed that they quit but Odd refused until he had found out who Kvillanus was. The latter removed his mask. His face was healed over with bone and was hairless. Odd recognized him as Qgmund and refused to make peace, but they found again that they could not kill each other and they stopped fighting. Odd went away. Kvillanus ruled there long and was called Kvillanus blesi.^{59, 60}

⁵⁹ *Blesi* means 'blaze-face' and is applied to horses. It is not a common nickname for human beings in Icelandic; see E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1920-21), 30. On its oldest appearance in Germanic, see E. Schröder, *Zfda.*, XXXV (1891), 237 ff. The story of the masked hero with the blaze-face sounds foreign. There are stories of veiled prophets in certain Mohammedan countries, and there is also an old and curious tale that Abdallah, reputed father of Mohammed, had a blaze on his face like that on a horse just previous to the conception of the prophet. Dr. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed ibn Ishâk, bearbeitet von Abd-el-Malik ibn Hishâm* (Göttingen, 1858), 100 ff.

⁶⁰ R. C. Boer, *Qrvar-Odds saga* (Leiden, 1888). The pages are indicated above.

[241-242] "The man [Grím ægir] was strong and in every way ugly; men knew neither his descent nor his kindred, for the witch Gróa had found him on Læsø where the high tide had receded and had fostered him and brought him up and taught him so much magic that none in the Northlands was his like, for his nature was unlike that of other men. It is the opinion of some that Grím's mother must have been some sea-giantess for he could fare both in sea and water if he would, and therefore he was called *ægir* [ocean]. He ate raw meat, drank the blood of men and beasts, changed often into the likeness of various creatures and shifted shapes so fast that the eye hardly caught it; his breath was so hot that men thought that they were burning though they were clad in armor; he spewed fire and poison by turns on both men and horses, and none endured him. King Eirek had great confidence in him and them all [i. e. his companions], and they spared the doing of no ill."

[243-247] Grím blew so hard that he frightened his opponent's horse and the sword flew from the man's hands. He promised King Eirek to help him with enchantments. [273] Men feared to attack Eirek on account of the enchantments and wizardry of Grím.

[280] Hreggvith, who had come out of his howe, tells Hrólf that the blizzards and stench and other wonders and the slayings were caused by Sqrkvi and Grím.

[312-314] Grím came to a man in his dreams and enticed him to do an evil deed and gave him a strength-drink. The man found the necessary clothing and arms when he awoke.

[318] Grím was the walrus which capsized Hrólf's ships; he produced a snow storm and cold to destroy Hrólf's men, and sent twelve sorcerers to cause Hrólf and Stefnir to kill each other. [330] When Grím was hard pressed he went down into the earth as if it had been water. [333] He came up out of the ground behind an enemy and struck him in the back and killed him. The victim's son struck Grím but the sword clashed against him as if he were of stone. Grím spewed poison in his face and killed him. [338] Grím tried to raise the dead on the field of battle, but in vain, for Mqndul countered all his magic.

He belched smoke and stench from nose and mouth, bellowed, shook a black mist out of a poke against Hrólfr's men and shot at Mǫndul. Mǫndul shot in turn and three times their arrows met in the air.

f

[339] "Hrólfr goes against Grím ægir and hews at him, but Grím dodged away up into the air as a flying dragon and spewed poison over Hrólfr. Mǫndul was near by and slipped the bag underneath so that it filled with poison; he ran with the bag to Sǫrli Widenose and poured it into his face and he fell dead. Grím turned then into a man and still he had killed nine men with the poison. Grím then ran at the dwarf and tried to seize him, but Mǫndul did not wait for this and went down into the ground where he had come from. Grím also went down after him and the ground closed together over their heads."

g

[342] "Grím had been now a flying dragon, now a serpent, a boar and a bull, or other vicious monsters which are most dangerous to men." [343] Hrólfr destroyed Grím's sword. Grím then leaped on Hrólfr, who had to throw away his sword and fight him. Grím became so enraged that he waded in the earth to his knees. He spewed fire and poison by turns on Hrólfr. His breath was so hot that it seemed nearly to burn through Hrólfr's cape and armor, and he squeezed the flesh from the bones where he took hold. By magic arts Mǫndul cut through Grím's sinews on his feet from behind and Grím fell. He did his utmost to go down into the ground but Hrólfr held him. Grím then spoke his death gab and started to abuse the dwarf, but Mǫndul stuck a piece of wood into his mouth and said if Grím had talked longer he would have "cursed you and many others so that you would have rotted apart and turned to nothing but dust."⁶¹ "You . . . shall not dismember him, for all that which is cut off will turn to poisonous serpents, and no one is to be before his eyes while he is dying, for that will be such an one's death."

Hrólfr pierced Grím's breast with Hreggvith's sword and the dwarf laid a shield over his face, but it rotted to pieces like snow in the fire and turned to dust. Grím gave up his life with frightful death struggles.⁶²

⁶¹ J. Reichborn-Kjennerud, "Den onde tunge," *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag* (Halle, 1924), 519 ff.

⁶² *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, FAS III. Pages indicated above.

VI. CHARACTERISTICS OF FIGURES WITH ATTRIBUTES OF THE LIVING CORPSE

The appearance of Qgmund and his crew reminds us of a *draug* and such a company as it would have in a howe. They are black, ugly, and malevolent (21a). Qgmund fights by wrestling, as does a *draug* (21b). He is a being of high potency, he knows the future (21a), he is full of enchantments (21b), he is a being of the underworld who fares through earth and sea (21b), he survives wounds that would kill a mortal (21b), he can not be slain by men (21a, b, c), and really is a spirit, not a man (21b).

The novellizer is present in the old version (21a) and presents a simple picture of a fiend and his crew who are not without a certain satanic dignity. His fifteenth century successor introduces a new figure, Rauthgrani [Othin], who supplies information as to Qgmund's past and keeps him in the picture by telling his whereabouts when he disappears. The late novellizer gives Qgmund parents worthy of a fiend, a suitable infancy and childhood, fits him into demonic society by marrying him to a trollwife, and gives him a long reign. We get rather fond of him when we read, not the foregoing summary in 21, but the saga itself.

Grím ægir, like the *draug*, is malevolent, he eats disgusting food, is a cannibal (22a). He fights by wrestling. His squeezing the flesh from the bones reminds one of the clawing of the *draug* (22g). Like the *draug* he is invulnerable to ordinary weapons (22e), as an underworld being he fares through earth and water (22a, e, f, g). He has attracted the novellizer, for his attributes are romantically potent: he shifts shape (22a) and becomes a walrus (22e), a bull, a bear, a flying dragon, a serpent (22g), his breath is hot (22a, g), he breathes smoke (22e), fire (22a, g), poison (22a, e, f, g), he causes stench (22c, e), wind (22b), storm, cold and wonders (22e), his last words are in themselves dangerous (22g), his dying glances shrivelled up a shield (22g), if portions had been dismembered from his body they would have turned into "tomb-animals," serpents (22g). He is less dignified than Qgmund, but he is as completely novelized.

Space does not permit dealing with lesser beings of this class, nor is it easy to decide in specific cases if we have a figure with the attributes of the Living Corpse, or only ordinary wizards and shape-shifters.⁶³

C. DWARVES

While there has been considerable discussion of the Dwarf [O. Icel. *dvergr*] in mediaeval literature⁶⁴ there is still room for a study of the dwarves in the Icelandic romantic sagas, especially in connection with the Living Corpse.

VII. SOURCES FOR DWARVES

23

"But the Durnis-realive's day-shy hall-guardian ensnared Sveigthir that time the proud kinsman of Dulse ran after the dwarf into the stone, and Sökmimir's and his men's fair hall, inhabited by giants, yawned for the king."⁶⁵

The above stanza from the *Ynglingatal* of Þjóðólfr af Hvini, ca. 900 A. D., is cited by Snorri Sturluson in the *Ynglinga-saga* in confirmation of the following:

Sveigthir was a king at Upsala who had vowed to find Othin the Old. "In the eastern part of Sweden there is a homestead called 'At Stone.' There is a stone there as big as a house. In the evening after sunset when Sveigthir and his men went from drink to the sleeping bower, he looked at the stone and saw a dwarf sitting under the stone. Sveigthir and his men were very drunk and ran to the stone. The dwarf stood in the doors and called to Sveigthir and bade him to go in there if he wished to meet Othin. Sveigthir sprang into the stone, but the stone closed at once and Sveigthir did not come back."⁶⁶

⁶³ The writer hopes to treat these separately. He regrets the omission of Qtunfaxi of the *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (FAS II), whose fight with Thorstein reminds one of the fight of Grendel's mother with Beowulf, though with some reversing of the roles. See Gould, *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 212-214.

⁶⁴ Fritz Wohlgemuth, *Riesen und Zwerge in der afrz. erz. Dichtung*. Dis. (Tübingen, 1906); August Lütjens, *Der Zwerg in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1911); Helmut de Boor, "Der Zwerg in Skandinavien," *Festschrift, Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag* (Halle, 1924), 536-581.

⁶⁵ Finnur Jónsson, *Heimskringla* (København, 1893-1900), I, 27.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 26.

King Svafrlami was separated from his men while hunting. At last he saw a large stone and by it two dwarves. He banned them from the stone with his inlaid short sword. Their names were Dvalin and Dulin. The king demanded as a ransom that they make him a beautiful and invincible sword. When the king came for it at the appointed time Dvalin told him that it should be a man's bane every time it was drawn, that with it should be wrought three deeds of shame, and that it should be the king's own bane. The king hewed at them but they leaped into the stone and it closed.

The story is again referred to in the stanzas in which Hervor demands that her father give her the sword from out of his grave:

"Give from the grave
The sharp sword
Which for Svafrlami
Dwarves did forge."⁶⁷

A king in Sweden named Buthli was fond of skilful smiths. One evening two men came, called Olfus and Alfus, who wished to remain over winter with him and said that they were expert smiths. That evening the king's smiths showed their work and all men praised it but the guests. The king asked them if they could do better. They said they could and they made him a superior knife and a gold ring better than any other he had ever seen. He ordered them to make two swords that would cut everything they should strike. Olfus did not wish to and said that a powerful spell would probably go with a sword that was made under compulsion. The king said they should do it whether under compulsion or not. The sword Olfus made did not endure the king's test, but the sword of Alfus did and was much handsomer. The king broke Olfus' sword and ordered him to make a better one. He became very angry and made a sword which endured all the king's tests, but told the king it would become the bane of most distinguished brothers, the sons of the king's daughter. The king struck at him, but the dwarves "had gone the shortest passage and used the lower road," i. e., had disappeared underground.

⁶⁷ Helgason, *Heiðreks saga*, 2 f., also 92. Verse p. 22, also 107. This is the version of MSS *H* and *U*. *R* tells only that the sword was obtained from two dwarves.

On page 87 it is again mentioned that Ólfus and Álfus made this sword (*sic!*). The two swords are referred to in Hildebrand's Death Song in the latter part of the saga;

"So have dead
Dwarves smithed
As none might
Before or after."⁶⁸

26

The dwarf Andvari was always in a waterfall in the form of a pike. Three of the gods killed Ottr and were condemned to fill his pelt with gold and cover it outside with gold. Loki was sent for the treasure. He caught Andvari in a net and took all the gold that he owned, even one ring that Andvari tried to keep back. "The dwarf went into the stone and said it should be the bane of everyone who owned that gold ring, and also all the gold."

In the course of the story Andvari speaks this verse;

"Andvari am I hight,
Óinn is hight my father,
I have fared up many a waterfall.
Wretched norn
Shaped us in yoreday
That I should wade in water."⁶⁹

27

Near the hall of the king four dwarves, Álfriðg, Dvalin, Berling and Grer, dwelt in a stone. Dwarves had intercourse with human beings more then than now. One day Freyja came past the stone when it was open and saw the dwarves smithing a golden necklace. She tried to buy it with gold, silver, and other good treasures, but they said they needed no money. Each would sell his part of the necklace on condition that she lie a night with him. After the four nights were over and all the conditions fulfilled they handed the necklace to Freyja.⁷⁰

28

Án went into a clearing in a wood and saw a big stone and a man beside the brook. Án got between the stone and the dwarf and banned him without the rock and said he should never get

⁶⁸ Dettér, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, 81 f. Verse p. 99.

⁶⁹ Olsen, *Völsunga saga ok Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, 34 f. Verse 35.

⁷⁰ *Flateyjarbók*, I, 275.

inside unless he made him a bow to fit and five arrows, with each of which he should once hit whatever he wished. It was to be done in three nights and Án was to wait for it. The dwarf did as agreed, and put no spells on the weapons. The name of the dwarf was Lit. Án gave him some pocket money which he had received from his mother and the dwarf gave him a handsome chair. Án carried the chair home on his back and gave it to his mother.⁷¹

29

Egil had recently lost a hand in battle. He got up one night and went into the woods to a brook and held his hand in the water to relieve the pain. A dwarf child came out of a stone to get water in a bucket. Egil let a golden ring fall into the bucket for the child. It ran into the stone and a little later the dwarf came out and asked who the man was who had made his child happy. He took Egil back into the stone and bound up the stump of his arm and took out all the pain, and the wound was healed by morning. The dwarf made him a good sword to fit the stump of his arm, and with it Egil could fight as well as before. He also gave Egil many treasures.⁷²

30

[394] An evil witch had given Thorstein a drink from a horn and thereby had caused him a loathsome illness. [397] To cure it he must drink from the other side of the same horn. [396] His foster-brother Halfdan went alone to a large stone in a clearing and knocked on it with his cane. Out came his good friend the dwarf Lit who dwelt there, and asked what his errand was. Halfdan asked him to get the horn from Dis Kolsdaughter. Lit said it was very dangerous but Halfdan urged him and he promised to try though he lose his life. [397] After seven nights Lit returned with the horn.⁷³

31

[446-448] Thorstein had an enemy, Qtunfaxi, with supernatural powers. He sought advice and was told to hunt up the

⁷¹ *Áns saga bogsveigis*, FAS II, 327. In the *Ketils saga hængs*, closely related to this saga, since both belong to the Hrafnista group, the hero goes to the woods for three days and comes back with a chair on his back and gives it to his mother. There is no mention of a dwarf, nor any other explanation. Such treatment of a story is not an ineptitude, but an extreme case of a well known technique. The joke would be on the hearer, in case of oral narration, who asked a question about an obvious thing. One was supposed to know where such objects were obtained.

⁷² *Egils saga ok Ásmundar*, FAS III, 388.

⁷³ *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, FAS II. Pages indicated above.

dwarf Sindri, whose home was in a stone on an island. Thorstein went alone and found two children playing at a brook. The boy was named Herrauth and the girl Herrith. The latter had lost her ring and feared her father's punishment. Thorstein gave her a ring and asked her to get her father to come to talk with him. Herrith could do it only if her brother would help her, as his father did what he wished him to. Thorstein gave the boy his silver belt and a knife. They brought out Sindri who gave Thorstein the necessary advice. He also gave him as a present from Herrith a knife that would bite Qtunfaxi, and from Herrauth, that Thorstein should call Sindri's name if he were in danger. He also granted that his *ðtsar* [female guardian spirits] ever accompany Thorstein.

[452] Thorstein later laid claim to this promise while he was fighting Qtunfaxi at the bottom of the sea. He called on Sindri and some one felled Qtunfaxi, whom Thorstein stabbed with the knife Sindri had given him.

[457] At another time Thorstein, bound and fettered, was held captive on a ship at anchor. He again called on Sindri, who came in the night and released Thorstein from the death which impended for the following morning.⁷⁴

32

[298-302] "One day a strange man came before the jarl and said his name was Møndul Pattason, and said that he had fared wide about the Uplands and said he could tell many things and that he had won great fame. He was low in stature, very broadbuilt, handsome in face and much pop-eyed." He won complete influence over the jarl, so that the latter neglected his government. Only Bjørn, the good councillor, recognized Møndul as a dwarf. Møndul tried in vain to entice Ingibjörg, Bjørn's wife, to intercourse, both by words and gifts and by a magic drink which she refused. He gave the jarl a golden belt set with gems and later made it appear that Bjørn in turn had stolen the belt from the jarl. By magic he turned all men's friendship away from Bjørn. The jarl condemned Bjørn to be hanged but granted a stay of seven nights. Møndul now occupied Bjørn's house. "He took Ingibjörg and laid her in bed with him every night while Bjørn was looking on, and she caressed him and had no memory of her husband Bjørn."⁷⁵

[307-310] Hrólf, whose feet had been cut off by a false servant, returned to Bjørn's house, where he found his friend

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ For instances of husband looking on while his wife caresses another man, see Andrews, *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, 17 f. and 87, 11.

Bjorn in fetters and the dwarf in possession of the house and of Ingibjörg. Hrólf manhandled Mǫndul until the latter begged for his life and promised to serve Hrólf faithfully in return. Mǫndul now became black and ugly after his kind. He confessed that he was a dwarf with skill in leechdom, that he had come thither to enchant and carry away Thóra, the daughter of the jarl, and Ingibjörg. He restored Ingibjörg to her former state and freed Bjorn, fetched Hrólf's feet and healed them fast to the stumps of his legs and promised to help him in an expedition to Gartharíki. He was very sad at losing Ingibjörg and went back to his home kin, no one knew where.

[315-319] When the expedition was ready to start Mǫndul appeared with a big sack on his shoulders. He demanded entire charge of the voyage and defined the order and manner of sailing. They had a favorable wind about the ships, but there was a different wind aloft. Mǫndul sat at the stern of the last ship, occupied with counter-magic. The ships that deviated from his instructions were overturned by a huge walrus and all on board perished. They came to anchor in the river Dvina and Mǫndul protected the fleet from harm by rowing around it. The crew pitched tents on land and the dwarf protected them by magic requisites which he brought from his sack. A supernatural storm raged for three days, and a man who did not obey Mǫndul's orders died from the storm. The author of all this hostility was Grím ægir, who assisted Hrólf's enemy, King Eirek. He sent twelve enchanters into a nearby wood to perform hostile incantations, but Mǫndul by counter magic turned their arts against themselves. [315-319]

[322, 328, 329, 331] Mǫndul did not join in the battle which followed but stood on a height and shot arrows and did great harm to the enemy.

[336-337] On the second day of battle he gave Hrólf a magic veil to protect him and took measures in advance to prevent those slain on the day before from being raised from the dead to do them harm in the battle which was to follow. [338-339] Grím ægir now employed all his supernatural powers, but his attacks were met by Mǫndul's counter magic. Grím ran at Mǫndul, but he disappeared underground and Grím followed him. [340] Grím returned later in rage. [343-344] Hrólf and Grím wrestled with each other, and Mǫndul dragged Hrólf's sword, which he was too small to wield, against Grím's calves and severed the sinews of his feet.

[344] He halted Grím's death-gab to prevent a harmful curse, [345] warned against the danger of meeting the glance of his eyes while he was dying, and directed how to kill him so that his body would cause no further injury.

[346] Mǫndul bound up the wounds of the men. He said, "it would have been his bane if Grím had caught him when he hurled himself down into the ground. 'I took advantage of this,' said he, 'that more of my friends were there than his.'"

[348] The dwarf had finished his services. He took leave of Hrólfr, who thanked him and gave him what he wished. The victors had in their possession Gytha, sister of the defeated enemy, King Eirek. She "left Gartharíki, and that was the guess of some men, that Mǫndul must have had her away with him."

VIII. STATUS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DWARVES

The dwarves are dead.⁷⁷ They have the features and form of the shrunken and shrivelled corpse. The oldest Germanic story of a dwarf makes him guardian of the portals of the dead, the summoner who calls men to enter the world underground. Thor asks the dwarf Alvið why he is so pale about the nose, if he had been among corpses the preceding night.⁷⁸ The poet of Hildebrand's Death Song (25) is aware that the dwarves are dead, for he says; "So have dead dwarves smithed as none might before or after."

Though the dwarves are dead, they fear injury and death, the Second Death (24, 25, 30, 32), and fear being banned without the stone (24, 28), for the rays of the sun turn a dwarf into stone.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ FAS III. Pages indicated above.

⁷⁷ J. Fritzner showed as early as 1877 that there was no distinction made in the old Scandinavian literature between the dead laid to rest in the howe, the elves and the "Underjordiske," which would include the dwarves. See his article "Lappernes Hedenskab og Trolddomskunst," [*Norsk*] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, VI (1877), esp. pp. 210 ff. Also E. H. Meyer, (*Germanische Mythologie*, §172), lists the following dwarf names as indicating that the dwarves belong with the dead; *Ái*, 'greatgrandfather,' *Dáinn*, 'dead,' *Náinn*, 'corpse,' *Ndr*, 'corpse.' In a forthcoming article the writer will extend this list.

The dwarves of mediaeval French literature are of a different origin. They arose from tales of actual human dwarves kept at courts as a source of amusement. The French type of dwarf occasionally intrudes into late Middle High German or Icelandic literature and is usually to be recognized by the whip or scourge which it mischievously applies to men and beasts. Cp. Lütjens, *Der Zwerg in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters*. 2-21.

⁷⁸ *Alvissmál* 2

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16, 35.

The dwarves come from the dwellings of the dead and to them they return. In ancient times men were laid to rest either in the ground as now or on its surface within a little chamber formed of great stones over which a mound of earth was raised. The winds and rains in the course of centuries carried away much of the earth and the great stones, under which dwelt the dead, were laid bare. These were the visible houses of the dead. Lütjens tells us that the dwarves of Middle High German literature dwelt in hollow mountains, which means that they were in a special place or kingdom of the dead.⁸⁰ The dwarves of the *Fornaldarsögur*, true to their more primitive type, still live, like the dead, under the ground (32 possibly 25) or in a "stone" (22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31).—In old Scandinavian *steinn* may mean a *rock* or a *dwelling of stone*, i. e. the stones of the howe.—Occasionally one even finds the stone open (23, 27), but when the dwarf is frightened it withdraws into the stone (26) which closes before the mortal can harm the stone's inhabitant (23, 24), or the dwarf disappears underground (25, 32). In one case dwarves fight a demon below ground (32). But everywhere, whether in a stone or underground, the dwelling place of the dwarf is the dwelling of the dead, the tomb. The fight of dwarves and demons below the ground (32) is a stylistically conventionalized form of the well known tale of the fight in the tomb between the Living Corpse and the hero who has come to rob him of his grave-goods (1, 2, 3).

The stone in which the dwarf lives is often near the water (26, 28, 29, 31). Just as some dwarves dwell beneath the surface of the ground, so Andvari was shaped by a "wretched norn" (26) to be in the water, for the dead, especially those who have drowned, may also live in the water.⁸¹

Since dwarves travel underground, all the veins of ore are within their reach and they have no lack of rich treasure (26, 27). So they are skillful smiths; they make wonderful swords (24, 25), even one which fits the stump of an arm from which the hand is gone (29), an excellent knife (25), one

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, 88.

⁸¹ Helge Rosén, *Om dödsrike och dödsbruk i fornordisk religion. Akademisk avhandling* (Lund, 1918). 16 ff.

that will even bite an enchanter (31), a bow and arrows with strange properties (28), a ring (25), a necklace so rare that a goddess lusts after it (27). One dwarf owns a precious ring (26), another a golden belt set with gems (32).

There are means, strange to say, of getting the dwarf in one's power and forcing him to do one's will. It is possible to ban him without his stone (24, 28), especially by means of metal (24), or to capture him (26) or to hold him by force of numbers (25) or to manhandle him (32). When one thus forces a dwarf to give a treasure or to smith a weapon, the treasure or weapon is likely to bring a spell or curse on the owner (24, 25, 26). Yet by foresight such a spell may be averted (28). When one forces a dwarf to do a piece of work one sometimes specifies the time within which it must be finished (24, 28).

But the dead are not always hostile to men, and dwarves are not always malicious. Human beings can even win their friendship, and it is worth while, for they are true to their friends (28, 30, 31, 32) and in all cases keep their promises, even those forced upon them (24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32).⁸² A man and a dwarf are pictured as being friends of old (30). One can also win a dwarf's favor by kindness (28), but their goodwill is most easily had by a favor to their children (29, 31), for a dwarf may be soft hearted and ruled by his young son (31).

The dwarves fear the presence of the living. Ordinarily one meets the dwarves only when one is alone (24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31), and they themselves are usually found alone (23, 26, 28, 29, 30, and in 31 the two latter appearances of Sindri), unless they are with their children (29, 31) or when they appear as smiths who work together (24, 25, 27). They are "day-shy" (23). Occasionally they overcome their timidity and seek out a mortal ruler (25, 32). We are not told in the former case why the dwarves did this, and Detter calls attention to the fact that the dwarf story does not agree at all points with the rest of the saga.⁸³ In the latter case Mǫndul says that he came there

⁸² It was an established convention of M. H. G. literature that dwarves kept their promises to a hero who had defeated them. The reason is of course their desire to avoid the threatened Second Death. See Lütjens, *op. cit.* 96, note 6, which gives apposite references excepting that to *Ornit*.

⁸³ *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, XLVII.

for the purpose of enchanting and carrying away two women; the dwarves are lecherous (27, 32).

We are told little about the appearance of the dwarves, not even how their height compares with that of mortals, only that Mōndull was "low in stature, very broad built, handsome in face, and much pop-eyed" (32). But when he ceased to masquerade as a human being he became black and ugly, after his kind.

There is something demonic about every dwarf. In a sinister way dwarves appear at the court of a king without an errand. They tell him there is a curse on the sword they have made him and they disappear mysteriously before he can take revenge (24, 25). A dwarf entices a king to leave the world (23). Andvari puts a curse on wealth stolen from him (26). Four dwarves buy the illicit favors of a goddess (25). A dwarf made a bow and arrows with qualities no human bowsmith could give them (28). Another healed a hero quicker than a mortal leech could have done it (29). Lit defeated an enchantress a human being could not have overcome (30). Sindri brought a hero help at the bottom of the sea and again at a distance (31). Mōndul was versed in all manner of magic (32). Like the *draug*, their attributes attained a higher potency than man's.

Mōndul is a figure apart from the rest; the other dwarves flit into the story for a brief space and out again, but Mōndul plays a longer rôle. He is a novellized creation of the high tide of mediaeval romance. We find a striking parallel to him in Alberich of the *Ortnit*.⁸⁴ In spite of differences in the early part of the two stories the general scheme is almost identical. Alberich is also a treacherous dwarf who lusts for a mortal woman. He deceives a queen and begets on her a son, Ortnit, the heroic king of Lombardy. The dwarf and his son meet in the wilds and fight. Ortnit is victorious and Alberich promises to serve him but breaks his word. Ortnit wins his friendship and he becomes loyal. He, too, accompanies his hero on a voyage to a distant land, protects him and the fleet from all dangers, helps defeat the hostile king and bring home the prin-

⁸⁴ Arthur Amelung and Oskar Jänicke, *Ortnit und die Wolfdietriche nach Müllenhofs Vorarbeiten*, I.

cess who becomes Ortnit's queen. In addition there are many minor resemblances.

Literary relationships have been assumed on the basis of much slighter similarities. But the resemblances can be explained in another way here. Both stories are bride-quests, for the plan of which there is a conventional scheme.⁸⁵ To the stock parts of a bride-quest story belong a voyage to a distant land and a supernatural helper who disposes of otherwise unsurmountable obstacles. In one instance the helper is Siegfried with his *tarnkappe* which makes him invisible, in another it is a man who has a strange relation to the sea, in several others it is a talking bird, in the *Ortnit* and the *Gongu-Hrólfs saga* the supernatural helper is a dwarf. Given the formula, the duties of the helper are within certain large limits predetermined.

It is interesting to compare our sources with those in Middle High German. Most of the dwarf tales in the latter are highly sophisticated. Their dwarves are no longer "dead dwarves," for they have been accommodated to the conventionalized scheme of life of an aristocratic society. They walk the stage as kings and queens and valiant knights. Most of the characteristics of the dwarves of the *Fornaldarsögur* are, to be sure, found in Middle High German literature, but overlaid with such a wealth of later detail that without the aid of the Scandinavian material it would be hard to say which features of the dwarf stories are old and which are new. The dwarf stories of the *Fornaldarsögur*, though not numerous, serve as a substitute for the missing early Middle High German material and give one an insight into the prehistory of the German dwarf, without which its later course of development can not be rightly understood.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Georg Baesecke, *Der Münchener Oswald, Germanistische Abhandlungen, Heft 28* (Breslau, 1907), 266-309.

⁸⁶ Lütjens, *op. cit.* par. 47, says in regard to the M. H. G. poem *Orendel*; "Es bliebe demnach als Kern nur die miszglückte Vergewaltigung und die erzwungene Beihülfe bei der Befreiung des gefangenen Orendel, eine Erzählung für die naheliegende Parallelen sich kaum werden auffinden lassen." Lütjens is of course right in saying there are no close parallels to the *Orendel* dwarf story, i. e., where these two incidents are combined, yet just such incidents

IX. THE THREE GROUPS

When the sorrow of parting is fresh our dead are much in our thoughts; they come to us not alone in our waking, but also in our sleeping hours; we see their forms, we hear their voices. Primitive people do not distinguish sharply between waking and sleeping experiences; the visions of the night are as real as the sights and sounds of the day, indeed more impressively and potently real than any events perceived by the senses. Men have in sleep seen the dead walk who live in yonder howe. Awe in the presence of this unknown thing, death, fear of the dead enter into the concept and produce in the mind the picture we have seen above, the hostile, awe-inspiring Living Corpse, product of dreams and fear. Then the story teller, the novellizer unites the qualities of the Living Corpse with the scheme of life of a mortal hero, invents for it ancestry, youth, possibly matrimony and a kingdom, and we have figures with the attributes of the Living Corpse, such as Grendel, Qgmund Eythjófsbani, Grím ægir and the like. When the dead have lain long in the howe, time and oblivion done their work, men allow humor and fancy to mingle with awe and they shape a different picture: the Dwarves.

CHESTER NATHAN GOULD

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were current at that time, witness attempts of Mǫndul on Ingebjǫrg, which failed until the supernatural was used, and Mǫndul's help to Hrólfr, which was really forced, since it was given in fear of the Second Death.

REVIEWS

SWEDEN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Adolph B. Benson, Associate Professor in Yale University. XII+216 pp. The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company. New Haven, 1926. Nils Sahlin, Distributor, Box 1068, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. \$3.00.

The interest of the author in the literary relations between Sweden and the United States led to certain historical investigations which finally converged in what is a notable contribution to American history. Dr. Benson states in his preface: "This study purposes to describe some of the outstanding features of the Swedish interest and participation in the American War of Independence. It purports to outline the official and, in some degree, the non-official Swedish attitude toward the American colonists; to indicate in a general way, by the estimation of numbers, the part played by the descendants of the Delaware Swedes; to point out what share the Swedish government had in directing European policies that influenced the final results; to show that commercial relations existed between the American colonies and Sweden during the period of the Revolution; and—most important of all—to give as complete list as possible of the names of Swedish officers who directly or indirectly fought for American Independence."

The significance of a contribution of this kind is evident when one considers that the part of other nationalities in the American Revolution has been investigated more or less thoroughly, while the part played by Swedish volunteers has been almost entirely lost sight of. The fact that many of them served under the French flag tended to merge them with the French so that they were almost considered as such. Besides, as Dr. Benson shows, the records of the French Army and Navy are incomplete. Still the French documents provide a large number of Swedish names, and it is possible to trace many of them in *Biografiskt Lexicon*, *Nordisk Familjebok*, and Anrep's *Adelns Ättar-Taflor*. Original papers in the Swedish archives are also helpful in establishing the identity of Swedes connected with the American Revolution. The Swedish officers performed an invaluable service particularly in the French navy.

In the first chapter Dr. Benson discusses the Swedish motives for participation and the attitude toward the American colonists. Chapter II treats of Sweden and the armed neutrality, and Chapter III Swedish commercial relations with America during the Revolution. Chapter IV deals with Gustav Philip Creutz. Chapter V is devoted to the descendants of the Delaware Swedes in the struggle for independence, among them John Hanson and John Morton. Chapter VI gives a list of Swedish officers in the French and Colonial service, while Chapter VII tells of Colonel Axel von Fersen, the best known Swedish officer of the American Revolution. Chapter VIII introduces Baron Curt von Stedingk.

The book contains a full bibliography, which suggests further opportunities for research. An appendix gives the text of the treaty of amity and commerce

between Sweden and the United States in 1783, an address on John Hanson, and an outline of the French participation. The index of names mentioned in the work is complete and valuable.

This splendid contribution to our early history should find its place in the library of every lover of history. In spite of its learned character the book is written in such a clear and simple manner that it will prove interesting to any one that opens its pages. It is illustrated with portraits of Count Axel von Fersen, Count de Creutz, John Hanson, and Alexander Contee Hanson, and photographs of our first treaty with Sweden, the Hanson coat of arms, and the Nicholas Brown House.

JOSEPH ALEXIS

University of Nebraska

NORSE MYTHOLOGY: LEGENDS OF GODS AND HEROES. By Peter Andreas Munch. In the Revision of Magnus Olsen. Translated from the Norwegian by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt. XVII+392 pp. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. New York. 1926. \$2.50.

To any one seeking a handy reference work on Norse Mythology, the publication of this volume, the 27th in the Scandinavian Classics series, is a noteworthy event. The text proper has three main divisions: Myths of the Gods, Heroic Legends, and the Worship of the Gods. The text is preceded by a preface by the translator and an introduction. At the end of the book are many helpful notes and a complete index.

For almost a century Peter Andreas Munch's handbook of Norse Mythology has been a standard work. So authoritative was the work he did that later scholarship has only been able to modify somewhat the statements made by him a long time ago. These modifications, suggested by later investigators, have been incorporated in the book by the renowned Norwegian scholar Magnus Olsen. The work represents, therefore, the combined scholarship of Munch and Olsen.

It should be noted that there are really only two groups of pagan gods that have had a share in modern culture, literature, and art, namely the Graeco-Roman gods and the deities of Scandinavia. While the names *January* and *March* carry us back to the deities of the Mediterranean, so *Wednesday* (Odin's day) and *Thursday* (Thor's day) remind us of the gods of the North.

To the student of Northern mythology, therefore, this convenient volume will prove a valuable help. The index makes the book doubly useful for reference. The historical and explanatory notes in the second part of the book also enhance the value of the work.

Aside from being a student's handbook, **NORSE MYTHOLOGY** will also interest the general reader. It can be read as a connected story from beginning to end and will interest young and old.

Dr. Hustvedt has made a careful translation from the Norwegian original. He calls attention in his preface to the fact that the great significance of Munch's scholarship lies in its influence upon the modern renaissance of Norwegian cul-

ture. He also states that this translation is intended as a companion volume to two other books published in the Scandinavian Classics series, *The Prose Edda*, translated by Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, and *The Poetic Edda*, translated by Henry Adams Bellows.

While this collection of myths and legends at one time belonged to the entire Germanic family, the traditions were preserved longest in the North. *Norse Mythology* treats of the deities once common to all the Germanic tribes.

JOSEPH ALEXIS

University of Nebraska

MAURICE CAHEN

(1884-1926)

On May 18th, 1926, Maurice Cahen died, but forty-two years of age, quite unexpectedly and far too early for all those who had either known him personally or—like the present writer—had seen his work grow and had admired it, without fully realizing the difficulties with which he had to struggle and which may be said to have contributed to his premature death.

Outsiders have always had the painful impression, wrongly perhaps, that the study of the Teutonic dialects and the Teutonic civilizations have on the whole enjoyed but a stepmotherly treatment in French university curricula, a fact which cannot be too strongly regretted. For however much one may admire the achievements of France and her people, it is inherent in human nature that no one nation can justly claim to embody perfection, and if such a claim were ever substantiated, that unhappy people would thereby rule itself out of the human family; for Nature, alas, does not want any particularly individual or group to be too good, anymore than she cares to have them altogether too bad. It is from this viewpoint that the premature loss of as able and as true a savant as Maurice Cahen was, will mean a loss suffered by his country.

M. Cahen was above all else a student of the Teutonic antiquities, more especially of Scandinavian religion and semasiology. Born at St. Quentin, a city not very remote from the Flemish territory, on April 18th, 1884, he prepared himself for the career of a teacher of German, studying at the Sorbonne, in Berlin and in Leipzig, to which must be added a three years' sojourn at Copenhagen and a shorter residence at Upsala. In spite of this preparation, it seems that he did not secure a true university position until shortly before his death.

Yet his scientific work is of excellent quality. His *Etudes sur le vocabulaire religieux du vieux-scandinave*, *La libation*, and *Le mot « dieu » en vieux-scandinave*, conceived and executed in the best philological tradition and at the same time showing no mean degree of independent judgment even in questions of methodology, are valuable contributions to our knowledge of Ancient Scandinavian civilization. What distinguishes them both is the method of approach, which may be called philological-semasiological and proved a key for many quaint religious usages now shrouded in darkness. M. Cahen utilized the same method

in a number of subsequent articles and monographs, and with admirable results. Suffice it to quote here his study «*Genou, adoption et parenté en germanique*» (*Bull. Soc. ling. de Paris*, XXVII, 36-67). There is finally a number of book-reviews, admirable in their conciseness and the multitude of new view-points revealed.

If it were necessary, as it may be in a future history of European scholarship in the first quarter of the twentieth century, to assign to the deceased a definite place in the movements of ideas, I should say that M. Cahen will be classed, first, as a follower of Michel Bréal, the true founder of semasiological studies in France as elsewhere. In fact, it is difficult not to discover in M. Cahen's writings the circumspect and yet luminous exposition of the master. In the second place he had much in common with the young generation of linguistic scholars in Germany, Karl Vossler, Leo Spitzer and E. Lerch. With them he shares the courageous refusal to treat linguistic phenomena *per se*, as *res philologicae*, without bearing in mind that language as an essentially social manifestation cannot be artificially separated from Life, i. e. the civilization of the social group speaking it. Since on the other hand, in so far as the great masses of the European populations are concerned, a study of their civilization means the study of their folk-lore, their customs, beliefs and the daily routine of their lives of simple tillers of the soil, it follows that this mode of approach to linguistic problems implies an exact knowledge of sociological, culture-historical and religious data, combined with an equally thorough acquaintance with the philological facts accumulated by the older generation. M. Cahen possessed both to a remarkable degree and combined them with admirable judgment.

M. Cahen was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study at the meeting of 1924 (see above, VIII, 91), in recognition of his outstanding work. It may not be out of place, in this connection, to pay tribute not only to the scholar but to the man who, at a time when many of his colleagues, more independent though they were and though they had derived far greater material benefits from Teutonic civilization than he could boast of, lost all balance of mind and fanned the flames of hate, kept remarkably calm and sane, while doing his duty as a loyal citizen of his country. Truly an admirable contrast to certain spectacles we have witnessed in recent times.¹

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

University of Minnesota

¹ A bibliography of M. Cahen's works will be found in the *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études, section des Sciences historiques et philologiques*, 1926-27.

An Old Norse Trilogy

NORSE MYTHOLOGY

By P. A. MUNCH and MAGNUS OLSEN

Translated by S. B. HUSTVEDT

Since 1840 Peter Andreas Munch's handbook of NORSE MYTHOLOGY has been a standard work in Norway. Later scholarship has modified it but has not replaced it in popular favor or scholarly prestige. It is a tribute to the enduring quality of Munch's work that the authority of our day, Professor Magnus Olsen, of the Royal University of Norway, chose to bring up to date the older historian's text rather than attempt a new study. The result is NORSE MYTHOLOGY, translated from the Norwegian by Dr. S. B. Hustvedt.

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SCANDINAVIANS IN THE WORKS OF
WASHINGTON IRVING

Students of Washington Irving know that a not inconsiderable portion of *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809) is devoted to the relations between the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the Swedes on the Delaware. In the fruitless struggles of these two groups of settlers, Irving had found, as he had in the relations between the Yankees and the Dutch, a fertile background for the exercise of wit, whim, humor and satire. The customs and manners of the Dutch and Swedish colonists, the character of their commanders and governors, their ostentatious but courageous display of a bold front under adverse circumstances, all had provided excellent material for the combination of a comic romance with a historical hoax, the more so because there had never in reality been any serious danger of bloodshed in any of the Swedish-Dutch encounters.

We cannot assume, of course, either that Irving was especially interested in the Swedes or that he had singled them out as a butt for his satiric thrusts. Yankees, Dutchmen and Swedes had been treated pretty much alike, and the Dutch in particular felt nettled at Knickerbocker's irreverence toward their ancestors. His interest in the Swedes, and very likely in the others, too, at this time, was purely literary and incidental, not to say accidental. Some time before, Samuel Latham Mitchell (1764-1831) had, as we know, published a *Picture of New York*, which had proved so entertaining to Washington Irving and his brother Peter that they decided to burlesque the work, whence came the impulsive interest in New Amsterdam, the Dutch, and their source of anxiety, the Swedes.

Manifestly, Irving's whimsical treatment of the Delaware colonists will not—and should not—bear a too rigid historical inspection. Governors Printz¹ and Rising of New Sweden are both caricatured, to be sure, as are the Dutch leaders,

¹ See a later edition of Knickerbocker's *History* for a description of John Printz. There is very little about him in the original edition.

but presumably in "pure wantonness of fun, without a particle of malevolence." In the early Kaaterskill edition of the "history," Knickerbocker says:

"If I happen to be a little hard upon the Swedes, I give free leave to any of their descendants, who may write a history of the State of Delaware, to take fair retaliation, and belabour Peter Stuyvesant as hard as they please,"²

intimating that perhaps the Dutch had been treated fairer than their adversaries. This is probably but another example of sarcasm, however, for the New York descendants of the Dutch certainly felt that the erstwhile governor of New Amsterdam had been belaboured quite enough as it was.

On the other hand, it is possible that Irving later actually felt he had hit the Swedes rather "hard" and that some of their American great-grandchildren had found cause to be offended, for in a subsequent edition of the *History* certain bold and questionable paragraphs about the Swedes were either removed entirely or thoroughly revised, and new material added that more closely corresponded with the spirit of the facts. For instance, the following sentence from Chap. I, Bk. VI, was deleted in full:

"The Swedes, who were of that class of cunning pretenders to Christianity, who read the Bible upside-down, whenever it interfered with their interests, inverted the golden maxim, and when their neighbor suffered them to smite him on the one cheek, they generally smote him on the other also, whether turned to them or not."

Today we do not make very serious charges for such evidence of self-interest as the Swedes are supposed to have shown, but in 1809 the interpretation of the accusation may have been different. The fact that Queen Christina of Sweden is characterized as a "redoubtable virago" (IV, IV), the Swedes as a "gang" of "adventurers" (ibid.), scoundrels (VI, IV), or freebooters (V, VII), and Sven Scute as a "tall, wind-dried, water-drinking Swede" (VI, I), will evoke nothing but smiles and laughter when we read these characterizations in their proper

² Book VI, Chap. VI.

connection and with a sense of humor that meets the author half way.

Here is a description of John Rising, director and governor of the New Sweden Company:

"Jan Risingh [was] a gigantic Swede, . . . who, had he not been rather knock-kneed and splay-footed, might have served for the model of a Samson or a Hercules. He was no less rapacious than mighty, and withal as crafty as he was rapacious; so that, in fact, there is very little doubt, had he lived some four or five centuries before, he would have been one of those wicked giants, who took such a cruel pleasure in pocketing distressed damsels, when gadding about the world, and locking them up in enchanted castles, without a toilet, a change of linen, or any other convenience . . ." (VI, I).

Thus did a Swede in 1809 make an auspicious debut in the history of American humor.

Rising, disdaining bloodshed and thereby exhibiting "a humanity rarely to be met with among leaders," according to Knickerbocker, captures the Dutch Fort Casimir by the "most merciful expedient of treachery." This "treachery" consists first of all in the strategic manoeuvre of entering the fort in a friendly way and getting "Van Poffenburgh" and his garrison dead drunk.

"No sooner did things come to this pass, than the crafty Risingh and his Swedes, who had cunningly kept themselves sober, rose on their entertainers, tied them neck and heels, and took formal possession of the fort and all its dependencies, in the name of Queen Christina of Sweden, administering at the same time an oath of allegiance to all Dutch soldiers who could be made sober enough to swallow it." (VI, I).

Here, incidentally, the historical Rising is, intentionally, or unintentionally, credited by Irving with more intelligence of method than he actually possessed. As to the fact itself it is generally conceded, I believe, by Swedish writers of today that Rising's capture of Fort Casimir—which took place in 1654—was a blunder. It caused irritation that should have been avoided. The fort was worth but little, was, because of its condition and equipment, of no real menace to the Swedes—though they may not have known this at the time—and its

hasty capture precipitated acts of hostility.—Sven Scute, who is introduced into the narrative by Irving, is also a historical character, who took a leading part in the capture of Fort Casimir.

Knickerbocker's version of the dire consequences of Rising's act deserve reprinting here *in toto*:

"By the treacherous surprisal of Fort Casimir, . . . did the crafty Swedes enjoy a transient triumph; but drew upon their heads the vengeance of Peter Stuyvesant who wrested all New Sweden from their hands. By the conquest of New Sweden, Peter Stuyvesant aroused the claims of Lord Baltimore; who appealed to the Cabinet of Great Britain; who subdued the whole province of New Netherlands. By this great achievement, the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia to the Floridas, was rendered one dependency upon the British crown—but mark the consequence: The hitherto scattered colonies, being thus consolidated, and having no rival colonies to check or keep them in awe, waxed great and powerful, and finally becoming too strong for the mother country, were enabled to shake off its bonds, and by a glorious revolution became an independent empire. But the chain of effects stopped not here; the successful revolution in America produced the sanguinary revolution in France, which produced the puissant Buonaparte, who produced the French despotism, which has thrown the whole world in confusion!—Thus have these great powers been successively punished for their ill-starred conquests—and thus, as I asserted, have all the present convulsions, revolutions, and disasters that overwhelm mankind, originated in the capture of the little Fort Casimir as recorded in this eventful history." (VII, IX).

Disregarding the "disasters" subsequent to the American Revolution, it follows, then, from Knickerbocker's reasoning, that, through a direct and logical succession of events beginning with a mistake, a Swede was responsible for the American declaration of independence and a united league of states. Verily, a Swede could hardly hope for better treatment from the mind and hands of Diedrich Knickerbocker.

In spirit, Irving in his satire remained truer to history than he himself realized perhaps in 1809. Today as we look back impartially upon the "battles" between the Dutch and the Swedes, we might well exclaim, "Much ado about nothing!"

though the contestants of 1654-55, of course, took them very seriously. The number of settlers and soldiers involved was in every case small, sometimes ridiculously small; adequate supplies of provisions and ammunition were lacking; and the contending parties were not at all anxious to kill each other. In fact, so far as we know, no soldier on either side was ever killed or wounded by an enemy. The only casualty in the whole "war" was a Swedish fugitive who, while escaping over a wall, was shot in the leg by a fellow-countryman and later died from his wounds.³ So most of the war, consisting of private interviews, public council-meetings, and general tirades and invectives, was verbal. It was besides a warfare on paper, with orders, messages, protests, proclamations and signatures. It was a war of pride against pride, with records of wrathful outbursts and unnecessary consequences, a contest of dinners, ceremonies and formalities, where bluff, pomp and the clever display of regimentals and a body guard took the place of an effective army.

At all events, in view of these conditions, Irving dwelt humorously at great length on the Dutch preparations,—gastronomic and otherwise—for their final tustle with the stubborn and insulting Swedes, and followed it by a whole chapter (VI, VII) on "the most horrible battle ever recorded in poetry or prose." This was the battle for the possession of Fort Christina built and held by the Swedes and captured by the Dutch in 1655. Even the Olympian gods took sides and fought:

"The immortal deities, who whilom had seen service at the affair of Troy—now mounted their featherbed clouds, and sailed over the plain or mingled among the combatants in different disguises, all itching to have a finger in the pie. Jupiter sent off his thunderbolt to a noted coppersmith, to have it furnished for the occasion. Venus swore by her chastity she'd patronize the Swedes, and in semblance of a blear-eyed troll paraded the battlements of Fort Christina, accompanied by Diana as a sergeant's widow, of cracked reputation. The noted bully, Mars, stuck two horse-pistols into his belt, shouldered a rusty firelock, and gallantly swaggered at their elbow

³ See Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, page 599.

as a drunken corporal,—while Apollo trudged in their rear as a bandy-legged fifer, playing most villainously out of tune.”

Juno, Minerva and Vulcan sided with the Dutch, that is, with the Van Wycks, the Van Dycks, the Van Tassels, The Van Pelts, the Van Bummels, the Vander Belts, the Vander Hooks, etc.—Irving enumerated all the Dutch names he could think of and some that he had, presumably, manufactured.

The Swedes and the Dutch have furnished the background for a pioneer masterpiece of American humor. Charles Dudley Warner in his *Washington Irving*⁴ quotes the whole description—ten pages—of the Dutch expedition against Fort Christina, for, he says, “it is an example of what war might be, full of excitement, and exercise, and heroism, without danger of life.” Hence we may good-naturedly ridicule all the fuss about it, and rejoice that nothing calamitous happened. A slaughter could not have been satirized. The Swedish garrison of the fort consisted, historically, of “about thirty men,” and the total strength of Stuyvesant’s forces sent to the Delaware district was “three hundred and seventeen soldiers and a company of sailors.”⁵

The *Knickerbocker History of New York*, dealing as it does, with the events and people of that city “from the beginning of the world to the end of the Dutch dynasty,” introduces in the opening chapters another subject in which Irving later became solicitously interested—the problem of the discovery of America. In his efforts to outdo Mitchill in his own specialty, erudition, Irving had collected a mass of facts, stories and conjectures bearing on the matter, and in his travel and browsing had of course come upon the accounts of the discoveries and explorations of the Norsemen. Knickerbocker, therefore,

⁴ Edition of 1883, pp. 215–225.

⁵ Amandus Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 610 and 595. It is a curious coincidence, that because of serious menaces to the Dutch by the Indians, and the proverbial friendly relations between the Swedes and the savages, Peter Stuyvesant “with his officers and entire council,” reappeared before the Swedes, only half an hour after the Swedish troops had marched out of the fort [Christina], and offered to restore the fortress to the Swedes, if these would enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against the Indians. This the Swedes refused to do. *Ibid.*, p. 611.

among other reports has heard (a) that North America was discovered in the year 1002 by the Norwegians under Biorn: (b) that, according to [Olof] Rudbeck, it was settled by the "Scandinavians;" and (c) that, in the opinion of the learned Dutchman, Grotius, "North America was peopled by a strolling company of Norwegians."⁶ This is of significance, for us, since it shows that Irving in 1809, at the age of twenty-six, or earlier, was at least superficially acquainted with the tales of the Norse discovery of America, and that he had gathered whatever information he had from a book, or books, based on more than one source.

Several years later, in fact just a century ago (1826), Irving, through his study of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus and the reports of pre-Columbian expeditions to America, was led to a closer examination of the Norse priority claims to the discovery of the North American continent, claims which Irving in 1809 had, more or less incidentally, merely mentioned in passing. They had, in conformity with his humorous intent at that time, been introduced, like the rest of the cognate material, as fillers, to parade learning. But now it had become a matter of real concern.

While Irving's interest in the Northerners themselves was more serious in 1826 than it had been—for it was stimulated by a definite purpose,—the Northmen were still of only contributory import to the author. Columbus was Irving's hero; it was he that was to be glorified. But in order to preserve for all time the brilliancy of his glory it had to be proved that rumors of voyages to the Western World prior to the year 1492 had exercised no appreciable influence on the plans and decisions of Columbus. It became, then, a special problem for the biographer, and historian, to examine as well as he could the secondary and third-rate sources for the reports of the Norse discovery of America—Irving could not read the first-hand sources available—and from these form a judgment of the value of the Scandinavian explorations. That he did this part in as conscientious and as scholarly way as was possible a hundred years ago for one not acquainted with the Icelandic language

⁶ Book I, chapters III and IV.

is certain. His sympathy was for Columbus, but he entertained no conscious or visibly distorting prejudice toward others. The result of his study may be found summarized in the very first paragraph of *Christopher Columbus* (1828):

"As far as authenticated history extends, nothing was known of terra firma, and the islands of the western hemisphere, until their discovery toward the close of the fifteenth century. A wandering bark may occasionally have lost sight of the landmarks of the old continents, and been driven by tempests across the wilderness of waters long before the invention of the compass, but never returned to reveal the secrets of the ocean. And though, from time to time, some document has floated to the shores of the old world, giving to its wondering inhabitants evidences of land far beyond their watery horizon; yet no one ventured to spread a sail, and seek that land enveloped in mystery and peril. Or if the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers be correct, and their mysterious Vinland was the coast of Labrador, or the shore of Newfoundland, they had but transient glimpses of the new world, leading to no certain or permanent knowledge and in a little time [was] lost again to mankind."

This conclusion needs no comment, except to point out that the Scandinavian expeditions are here, at the beginning of the work, the only pre-Columbian voyages to which a specific allusion is made.

But Irving felt perhaps that his conclusion needed a supplementary explanation; that the subject of the alleged discovery of America by the Norsemen could not be dismissed so easily, and, therefore, introduced, in a separate (the fourteenth) chapter of the Appendix, an essay on the "Voyages of the Scandinavians," giving as his chief sources, Forster's "Northern Voyages"⁷ and Malte-Brun's *Géographie Universelle*.⁸

⁷ Investigation shows that the full title of the work was *History of the Voyages and Discoveries Made in the North*. English translation from the German by John Reinhold Forster (1729-1798), Dublin, 1786. For an account of the Norse discovery and settlement of America, see Chap. II, pp. 80-88. Forster's book had, in turn, been based on two Latin works by the Icelandic-Danish historian, Tormod Torfæus (1636-1719), entitled *Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ*, Hafnia, 1705, and *Veteris Groenlandiæ Descriptio*, Hafnia, 1706.

⁸ Malte-Brun (1775-1826), *Précis de la géographie universelle*, 8 vols. Paris, 1810-1829.

"Many elaborate dissertations," says Irving in this essay, "have been written to prove that discoveries were made by the Scandinavians on the northern coast of America long before the era of Columbus; but the subject appears still to be wrapped in much doubt and mystery."

Irving, borrowing directly from Forster and indirectly from all his predecessors, gives Snorre Sturleson's version of the expedition to Vinland; repeats the claim that

"the relatives of Leif [Ericson] made several voyages to Vinland; that they traded with the natives for furs; and that, in 1121, a bishop named Eric went from Greenland to Vinland to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. From this time, says Forster, we know nothing of Vinland and there is every appearance that the tribe which still exists in the interior of Newfoundland, and which is so different from the other Savages of North America, both in their appearance and mode of living, and always in a state of warfare with the Esquimaux of the northern coast, are descendants of the ancient Normans [i.e. the Northmen]."⁹

Yet Irving is sceptical. Writing with a critical turn of mind he says:

"Forster appears to have no doubt of the authenticity of the facts. As far as the author of the present work on Columbus has had experience in tracing these stories of early discoveries of portions of the New World, he has generally found them very confident deductions drawn from very vague and questionable facts. Learned men are too prone to give substance to mere shadows, when they assist some preconceived theory. Most of these accounts, when divested of the erudite comments of their editors, have proved little better than the traditionary fables, noticed in another part of this work, respecting the imaginary islands of St. Brandan and of the Seven Cities."¹⁰ "There is no great improbability, however," continues the author, "that such enterprising and roving voyagers as the Scandinavians may have wandered to the northern shores of America about the coast of Labrador or the shores of Newfoundland; and if the Icelandic manuscripts said to be of the thirteenth century can be relied upon as genuine, free from modern interpolation, and correctly quoted, they would appear

⁹ Cf. Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 86

¹⁰ Cf. Chap. VI of *Christopher Columbus* with reproduction of a part of Martin Beheim's globe of the world of 1492.

to prove the fact. But granting the truth of the alleged discoveries, they led to no more result than would the interchange of communication between the natives of Greenland and the Esquimaux. The knowledge of them appears not to have extended beyond their own nation, and to have been soon neglected and forgotten by themselves."

This is substantially the same view that is expressed in the beginning of Irving's work, but with the admission freely added that the Scandinavians actually were an "enterprising and roving" people who in their wanderings may well have sailed as far as North America. Yet the author again voices his conviction that even if they did reach the American coast, the achievement led to no permanent results on either continent, these being merely temporary and local.¹¹ But Irving is, as we perceive, extremely critical in his whole attitude toward the Scandinavian sources. To him they represent a dubious, fable-like material that can be used only with the greatest caution. Probably, too, the almost absolute faith which some enthusiasts had put in the historical value of the old Icelandic sagas had made Irving suspicious. So he was inclined to swing to the other extreme and discount everything, though admitting the *possibility* of some historical import in the saga narratives. He knew little about the life and work of Snorre or other early writers of the North, and undoubtedly attributed to their writings a much smaller geographical distribution than was actually the case. If, as seems probable from his references to them, Irving believed Snorre's activities to be limited to Iceland—Forster had said practically nothing about Sturleson's life—there is small wonder that the American greatly underestimated

¹¹ Today, on the other hand, Vilhjalmur Stefánson, for instance, believes the results were much more permanent and wide-spread. "The learned men of Europe, generally speaking, were familiar with the discovery of North America," says this modern explorer. Greenland sailed its own ships both to Europe and America up to the year 1262; the contact between Norway and Greenland was not broken off until after 1412, and there seems to have been a secret connection with Europe after that time. Also, the Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages knew of land west beyond Greenland and as late as 1492 the Pope exhorted Christians to carry the faith to the lands west of Greenland. See article on "Norse Voyages" in the *New York Times*, Sunday, July 18, 1926.

the publicity and value of the Icclander's work and his influence upon European knowledge.

Then there was another problem.

"M. Malte-Brun¹² intimates," says Irving in his essay, jealously and laudably guarding the glory of Columbus,

"that the alleged discovery of Vinland may have been known to Columbus when he made a voyage in the North Sea in 1477 Had M. Malte-Brun examined the history of Columbus with his usual accuracy, he would have perceived that, in his correspondence with Paulo Toscanelli in 1474, he had expressed his intention of seeking India by a route directly to the west. His voyage to the north did not take place until three years afterward. . . . His route . . . was a direct western course, not towards Vinland, . . . but in search of Cipango, and Cathay, and the other countries described by Marco Polo, as lying at the extremity of India."

The brief autobiographical account of the explorer's trip to the north is reproduced by Irving in Chap. VI of his Columbus biography with a single sentence of comment:

"The island thus mentioned in Columbus's northern voyage is generally supposed to have been Iceland, which is far to the west of the Ultima Thule of the ancients, as laid down in the map of Ptolemy."

The biographer here does not commit himself at all, so far as his own views are concerned, and just dismisses the matter by stating the general supposition relative to the navigator's trip northward.

There is one palpable weakness, however, in Irving's arguments given above, regarding the possibility or impossibility of benefits derived from Columbus's voyage to Iceland. Irving did not believe Columbus could have profited by this northern tour because he had already in mind a course "directly to the west," and if he heard anything at all about Vinland, he learned, we must assume, that it was situated *south-west* of Iceland and *north-west* of Spain. So, in Irving's opinion, Columbus could not have been seriously interested in any Icelandic stories of western lands. This is weak. The biographer in his introductory

¹² Cf. note 8.

chapters aims to show how the idea of the discovery of America was a gradual synthesis of ideas from within and impulses from without, that it was "the conception of his genius, quickened by the impulses of the age, and aided by those scattered gleams of knowledge which fell ineffectually upon ordinary minds." Readily granting that Columbus was possessed of an extraordinary mind and conviction, does it not follow that such genius would be the very one to pick up a suggestion and gather encouragement from tales of lands to the west, even if they were not located *directly* west? Even granting that the idea of sailing westward originated in Columbus's own mind, would not "scattered gleams" about wild grapes and a mild climate somewhere in the west serve to strengthen a lingering notion about the *accessibility* of land in that direction, and easily turn a doubt into a conviction? Of course, Columbus may not in Iceland have heard anything at all about Vinland, but if he did, we can not categorically deny all influence.¹³

Notwithstanding the critical attitude toward the Scandinavian sagas as historical source material that appears in *Christopher Columbus*, Irving must have retained and developed his interest in northern antiquity, for in 1832 he published in the *North American Review* a long article on the *History of the North-*

¹³ Stefánson, in his above-mentioned article in the *New York Times* (see note 11) gives the following startling testimony and opinion: "It seems that in 1477 Columbus visited Iceland, *where the voyages to America were on every one's tongue*. But whether he did or not is immaterial, for, in common with the learned men of his time, he clearly knew in any case the outline of the facts . . . and was familiar with the Pope's desire that the lands west of Greenland should be Christianized. This connects itself readily with the frequent declarations of Columbus that one of his chief purposes was to carry Christianity to the heathen west of the Atlantic. He may actually have seen some of the papal proclamations in monasteries, and can have learned, and may have learned in South European libraries, most of the things he could have heard in Iceland."

To the present writer, the strongest argument for supposing that Columbus (before 1492) learned of the Norse discovery of land west of Greenland is the records of the activities of the Church. Greenland had for generations after the introduction of Christianity been a flourishing tax-paying Catholic community, and relations with Rome had been continued for a long time. It seems, too, that the Vatican had kept alive the memory of the Greenland settlement, and land to the west of it, right up to the time of Columbus.

men, a work by Henry Wheaton¹⁴ that had just appeared. "Here," says the reviewer, "we have a work by a thorough republican, investigating with minute attention some of the most antiquated and dubious tracts of European history, and treating some of its exhausted and almost forgotten dynasties" The author, at Copenhagen, "has been led into a course of literary and historic research, which has ended in the production of the present history of those Gothic and Teutonic people, who, inhabiting the northern regions of Europe, have so often and so successfully made inroads into other countries more genial in climate and abundant in wealth. . . . For our own part, we have been struck with the variety of adventurous incidents crowded into these pages, and with the abundance of that poetical material which is chiefly found in early history, while many of the rude traditions of the Normans, the Saxons, and the Danes have come to us with the captivating charms of early associations recalling the marvellous tales and legends that have delighted us in childhood."¹⁵

This is a different tune! We feel that now Irving has learned from Wheaton, that he has become genuinely interested in and appreciably sympathetic toward the subject. Nor does Irving confine his source to Wheaton. He studies Henderson's *Iceland*,¹⁶ and compares notes. While his knowledge of the Northmen is still superficial and second-hand, his fund of information

¹⁴ Henry Wheaton (1785-1848), celebrated jurist and author, American chargé d'affaires in Denmark from 1827-35, published in London and Philadelphia, 1831, his *History of the Northmen, or Danes and Normans*, a work that was based on the best known sources of the time. Wheaton had previously in the *North American Review*, for January, 1829, published an article on Scandinavian mythology and literature, and in 1838, in joint authorship with Andrew Crichton, L.L.D., he published in Edinburgh (American edition, New York, 1841) *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern; Being a History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. Wheaton, a graduate of Brown University, was regarded as a "distinguished northern antiquary." He is one of the foremost Americans in the history of the early cultural relations between Scandinavia and America. He read all the modern Scandinavian languages. The American edition of his history of Scandinavia is in two 16mo volumes with numerous interesting engravings.

¹⁵ See Pocantico ed. of Irving's works, Vol. of *Reviews and Miscellanies*, pp. 54-56. In this edition the review occupies over fifty pages.

¹⁶ Ebenezer Henderson (1784-1858), English preacher, traveler and linguist, wrote *Iceland; or the Journal of a Residence in that Island*, Edinburgh, 1812. Wheaton also used Henderson's work as a source.

has noticeably increased. He touches briefly on the history and character of the Icelandic language and literature; he describes at length the life and profession of the skald; he provides an account of the ancient laws, religion and superstitions of the Northerner, and mentions, for example, the elves, the Swedish *strömkarl* and other, domestic spirits. Irving reproduces from Wheaton the tradition of the migration of Odin and the "Scythian Goths" from the banks of the Tanais in Asia to the Scandinavian peninsula, to escape the Roman legions, and delights in describing the miraculous powers of the portable vessel *Skidbladner*. The chief gods with their attributes are enumerated, of course, as are also the religious ceremonies in the pagan temples. Irving quotes Milton in Icelandic, and supplies a part of the story of Sigurd and Brynhilda from William Spencer's¹⁷ versification of it. He is particularly interested, as were so many other writers, in the saga of Ragnar Lodbrok and in his sons' revenge upon King Ella of England in the spring of 867.

The moral and physical training of the young Northmen, and more especially of the chieftains, is given commensurate space in Irving's review. This education, he comments,

"prepared them for that wide and wild career of enterprise and conquest which has left its traces along the coasts of Europe, and thrown communities and colonies, in the most distant regions, to remain themes of wonder and speculation in after ages. . . . Rendered daring navigators by their experience along the stormy coasts of the North, they soon extended their warlike roamings over the ocean, and became complete maritime marauders, with whom piracy at sea was equivalent to chivalry on shore, and a freebooting cruise to a heroic enterprise."¹⁸

It is interesting to note that, whereas Wheaton had treated fully the Northmen's discovery of America,¹⁹ Irving in his re-

¹⁷ William R. Spencer (1769-1834), poet and wit.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* (see note 15), pp. 78-9.

¹⁹ Wheaton seemed to have absolute faith in the authenticity of the Norse discovery of America, but did not believe the fact had any influence upon the plans of Columbus. Says Wheaton:

"There is not the slightest reason to believe that the illustrious Genoese was acquainted with the discovery of North America by the Normans (North-

view maintains a discreet silence on this topic, though he outlines the history of the Norse marauding expeditions against England, France, Spain and Tuscany. (Irving is also silent about the exploits of the Swedish vikings in Russia and Constantinople, which had been described by Wheaton). We may assume, however, that Irving now has a reasonable faith in the historic reliability of the records of the Northmen as told by the Icelanders and others. He quotes from his source about the

"power of oral tradition in . . . transmitting through a succession of ages poetical and prose compositions of considerable length, [a power which] may appear almost incredible to civilized nations accustomed to the art of writing."

This is particularly the case where a perpetual order of men are employed who are "relied upon as historiographers to preserve national annals." Irving follows Wheaton and ends his article with a review of the battle of Hastings.

Washington Irving, though he had a reading knowledge of several languages, was more of a writer and historian than a philologist. His conception of the Icelandic language, therefore, is noticeably inadequate and obscure. In 1830 the science of comparative philology was still in its infancy; and although his chief source, Wheaton, knew²⁰ that Icelandic was basically the parent tongue of the modern Scandinavian dialects, and that it was in a remote way, through its membership in the "Gothic" family, related to the "Teutonic" and other, ancient languages, his statements about the Icelandic in his *Northmen* had been indistinct and therefore misleading. So his pupil was left groping in the dark. Wheaton had asserted:

"The race of the Anglo-Saxons belongs to the Teutonic, not the Scandinavian family, and though they participated in the widely different worship of Odin, the language spoken by

men) five centuries before his time, however well authenticated the fact now appears to be by the Icelandic records." See *History of the Northmen*, p. 31. So the fame of Irving's hero was secure for the time being, and the matter was considered settled. Wheaton had probably read Irving's *Columbus* and may have been influenced by it.

²⁰ We know this from a study of Wheaton's earlier articles on the subject.

them is perfectly distinct from the ancient Northern, or Icelandic tongue."²¹

Consequently, Icelandic is treated by Irving as a very strange and ancient dialect; as a thing apart, preserved on an isolated island "when exiled from its parent countries of Scandinavia"; and as one which had, presumably, left no visible traces behind on the continent. "The Icelandic language in itself," says Irving cautiously,

"appears to have been worthy of preservation, since we are told that 'it bears in its external structure a strong resemblance to the Latin and Greek, and even to the ancient Persian and Sanscrit, and rivals in copiousness, flexibility, and energy, every modern tongue.'"²²

That Icelandic was in its fundamental vocabulary closely akin to languages nearer home escaped the reviewer. The few fragments of it seen by Irving had not, apparently, suggested any relationship to Danish, German, Swedish or English worth writing about.

Under such circumstances, we are not astonished that Irving's idea of the Runes is a very primitive one. Wheaton had taught that the Runes were of Phoenician origin. Irving does not suspect that they are related to the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabet. He holds the old view, quite naturally, that these mysterious signs and the Roman symbols, for example, are entirely separate creations, and that the latter were "adapted to designate the sounds heretofore expressed by Runic characters." But since the origin and development of the Runes, meaning *all* of them, have not been fully explained yet, we are hardly justified in criticising Irving for ignorance in this instance. He knew at any rate that there were, or had been, such things as Runes. This was in 1832.

In the fall of 1849 Washington Irving made the personal acquaintance of a Scandinavian writer, the feminist Fredrika Bremer, who made a sketch of him; but judging from Miss Bremer's account of the meeting recorded in her letters on

²¹ *History of the Northmen*, p. 10.

²² Cf. Wheaton, *ibid.*, p. 50.

America,²³ it was not throughout a huge success and Irving has, so far as I know, left no record of his impressions of the Swedish novelist.

This paper has shown, I trust, that in the history of the literary relations between American and Scandinavia, we must include the name of Washington Irving, who through his primary interest in other subjects was led to a study of the Delaware Swedes and the ancient Northmen.

ADOLPH B. BENSON

Yale University

²³ "America of the Fifties," *Scand. Classics*, XXII, p. 24-27.

GLEANINGS FROM "PEER GYNT"

The following notes or "gleanings" from *Peer Gynt* are here offered more by way of a stimulus to the study of this masterpiece than as a definite contribution to our knowledge regarding it. I am fully aware of the almost insurmountable difficulties in the interpretation of a poetic work of this nature. Symbolism and poetic spirit run riot thruout the play, and bold indeed would be he who would offer a definitive solution for any poetic concept.

In his "Commentary on *Peer Gynt*" Professor H. Logeman has rendered a most valuable service in bringing together so much material which has a bearing on *Peer Gynt*, but I imagine "the last word" regarding this masterpiece will never be said.

I have in the following suggested certain viewpoints to which Logeman makes no reference and which, so far as I know, have not been presented elsewhere. Some of my remarks may seem trivial, but if they in any way shed additional light upon the interpretation of the text or stimulate the students of Ibsen to undertake further critical study of this monumental work, I shall feel fully repaid for my temerity in attempting so difficult a task.

1) *Trumpeterstråle*

This soubriquet, applied to the Swede, reminds us of the Biblical passage, Matthew 6, 2, "Sound not thy trumpet before thee." "Blowing one's own horn" is a proverbial expression for self-praise. The Swede, as Ibsen depicts him in the Fourth Act, is the national personification of such an attitude.

We know that Ibsen was not in sympathy with the Swedes (cf. Logeman, p. 173). This may be explained chiefly on the ground that Sweden, as well as Norway, failed to come to the help of Denmark against Prussian tyranny. But Ibsen's antipathy for the Swedes does not seem to have been due solely to political reasons.

Aside from the political situation we have evidence of Ibsen's antipathy for the Swedes on the ground of cultural

and spiritual incompatibility. This evidence is given in one of his letters written from Rome, March 31, 1868, to his mother-in-law, Magdelene Thoresen. In this letter Ibsen characterizes the efforts of the Norwegians to compromise with the Swedes as "a flirtation," a thing which he could not endure—"Men *lefleriet*¹ for svenskerne kan jeg ikke dølge"—and then adds: "The Swedes are, by virtue of their culture, our *spiritual* enemies," "Svenskerne er, ifølge deres *kulturgrund*, vore *åndsfiender*."²

It is possible that this sentiment on Ibsen's part was an outgrowth of his indignation over the political situation. At any rate, the letter reveals his intense dislike for the Swedes during this period; hence the prominent personality of the *Trumpeterstråle* at the international table of the Norwegian host, Peer Gynt.

2) *Morgen er ikke kvelden lig* (1. 2268)

Logeman (p. 200) quotes a number of Norwegian, Danish and Dutch proverbs which express the same idea as Peer Gynt has in mind, viz., "one cannot judge a thing until it is tried." The proverb is an old one and may be found in the Old Norse *Hávamál* (80): "at kveldi skal dag leyfa" which is evidently Aasen's "Ein skal ikkje rosa dagen, fyr kvelden er komen" or Mau's "Morgenvejr er bedst at prise om Aften," etc. Logeman quotes the last two proverbs but makes no mention of the Old Norse proverb.

3) Ja, mit barn,—jeg er forsvoren
som en hund, hvis ej der går
sjælsforædte folk på jorden
som til klarhed tungvindt når.
*Jeg har kendt en sådan krop,
perlen i den hele trop;
og selv han tog fejl af målet,
misted meningen i skrådet* (11. 2700-7).

To whom does Peer have reference here? There is no one within the drama except Peer himself to whom these words can

¹ Cf. *Brand*, Act II: men det de dækker svigfuldt til,
at livet er et *lestespil*.

² The italics in this passage are mine.

apply. But Peer has not yet (Act IV, Meeting with Anitra) begun to realize that he has gone astray in life ("tog fejl af målet") even tho he is full to overflowing with self-conceit ("perlen i den hele trop").

I strongly suspect that it is Ibsen himself who is here speaking thru Peer and that the passage is a covert reference to Brand. One phrase in particular seems to lend color to this argument, namely when just preceding this passage Peer says:

sandhed i sin overdrift
er en bagvendt visdomsskrift.

"Truth, when exaggerated, is the opposite of wisdom." Peer seems here to be defending his own principle of compromise in direct antithesis to Brand's "intet eller alt." This doctrine of "intet eller alt" is an exaggeration of a moral truth; the logical conclusion of such a doctrine results in a perversion of the truth, or (as Peer puts it) in making the truth read backwards ("en bagvendt visdomsskrift"). Because of this doctrine Brand was led astray and lost the real meaning of life:

og selv han tog fejl af målet,
misted meningen i skrålet.

That Brand was a rare character ("perlen i den hele trop"), distinguished alike for his courage and unselfish devotion to his calling, none can deny. But his hard doctrine made him lose sight of the greatest thing in life and its real meaning, viz., human love.

4) *Stank og råddenskab for inden;
alt ihob en kalket grav* (11. 4001-2).

Logeman (p. 306) calls attention to the similarity of this passage to Matthew 23, 27; "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness."

As Logeman points out, the same thought reoccurs in *Kjærlighedens Komædie*, Act III, where Falk says regarding human conduct which has fallen short of the ideal:

Der lugter lig af brudgom og af brud;
der lugter lig, hvor to går dig forbi

på gadehjørnet, *smilende med læben*,³
*med løgnens klumre kalkgrav*⁴ *indeni*,
 med dødens slaphed over hver en stræben.

A still clearer reflection of the Biblical passage in question occurs in *Samfundets Støtter*, Act I, where Adjunkt ("Pastor") Rørlund addresses the society of ladies in his sanctimonious, unctuous fashion as follows:

"Denne *forgyldte og sminkede yderside*, som de store samfund bærer til skue,—hvad dølger den egentlig? *Hulhed og raddenskab*, om jeg så må sige. Ingen moralsk grundvold under fødderne. Med et ord,—de er *kalkede grave*,⁴ disse store samfund nutil-dags."

Similarly, Dr. Stockmann in *En Folkefiende* (Act I) says:

"Hele badeanstalten er en *kalket forgiftig grav*,⁵ siger jeg" and in *Kejser og Galilæer* Julian the Apostate says to the philosophers (Act V): "Jeg kjender jer, I *kalkede grave*."⁶

The idea of the great schism between appearances and reality, between pretensions and conduct was one of Ibsen's main themes and it is almost beyond peradventure that Peer's despairing cry upon the heath (*furumo*) is a reflection of the Biblical passage in question where expression is given to this same idea. Peer preserves not only the thought but also the metaphorical language of the Biblical passage; cf. *stank og raddenskab forinden* with "but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness" and *alt ihob en kalket grav* with "like unto whited sepulchres."

5) Nösterne.

(på jorden)

Vi er tanker;
de skulde tænkt os;—
pusselanker
du skulde skænkt os! (11. 4014-17).

As is well known, the figure of the balls of yarn is taken from Norwegian folklore (cf. *Berte Tuppenhaugs Fortællinger*). The

³ The italics are mine.

⁴ The italics in this passage are mine.

⁵ The italics are mine.

⁶ The italics are mine.

balls of yarn, as they appear to Peer, symbolize the thoughts which he should have fostered but did not.

The connection between the balls of yarn and the thought inherent in the symbolism seems to me to lie in the fact that Peer's thoughts on moral questions have always been "tangled up," as it were, and never "unwound" as they should be in order that moral progress might ensue. Just as the Withered Leaves symbolize the fatal effect of Peer's spiritual deadness or as the Dew Drops symbolize the tears of repentance which Peer should have shed, so the Balls of Yarn symbolize those ideals which should have possessed him but which in reality were for him only a confused and tangled mass which kept tripping him up and preventing his progress:

Nøste! Dit fordømte drog!
Spænder du for faer din krog!

In this connection we are reminded of the Biblical phrase "causeth thee to stumble" (cf. Matthew 5, 29. 30 etc.).

6) og derfor, lad det kaldes: overalt at møde
med Mesters mening til udhængsskilt (11. 4383-4).

The Botton-Moulder has just given Peer his definition of the motto "to be one's self" ("at være sig selv"), to wit, "to be one's self is to slay one's self" ("at være sig selv er sig selv at døde"), but knowing that Peer cannot understand the construction which he (the Botton-Moulder) lays upon the word "self" he adds the definition above quoted.

The Botton-Moulder here resorts to the language of his own vocation. The *sign* ("udhængsskilt") tells what trade a man has; one must be true to his own sign, i.e., one's acts must be consonant with one's pretensions, one must be true to the highest or divine mission in life to which the Creator has destined each individual.

This passage finds a striking parallel⁷ in *Brand*, Act II, where Brand says:

ét er målet,—det at blive
tavler, hvorpå Gud kan skrive.

⁷ Mentioned also by P. L. Stavnem in his article "Overnaturlige væsener og symbolik i Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," p. 110, *Afhandlinger i ede Sophus Bugges Minde*, 1908.

The point I wish to make here is that since the thesis "at være sig selv" is the fundamental concept in both dramas, it is possible that Ibsen had this passage from *Brand* in mind when he has the Botton-Moulder define this philosophical dogma to Peer. The word *udhængsskilt* "sign" may be considered a vernacular rendering (suited to the Botton-Moulder's vocation) of the poetic idea *tavler* "tablets;" both words, *udhængsskilt* and *tavler*, are used in a metaphorical sense for something upon which we write ourselves, i.e., what we are in profession or intention.

For the thought expressed in *Brand* compare the Biblical passage, Second Epistle to the Corinthians 3, 3: "*Written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone but in tables that are hearts of flesh.*"

When we recognize how much of the Biblical spirit⁸ Ibsen imbibed during the composition of his *Brand* we are justified in assuming that this metaphor (viz., "God's writing upon the tablet of the human soul") was taken directly from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians 3, 3 (cf. "deus caritatis" with the First Epistle to the Corinthians 13, 1). In *Peer Gynt* we have in the passage in question simply a prosaic rendering⁹ of the same idea. The thesis "at være sig selv er sig selv at døde" is in itself Biblical¹⁰ and it is not at all strange that the further rendering which the Botton-Moulder gives of this thesis should conform to a Biblical notion.

7) Peer Gynt. Ja, men véd
De hvad,—jeg har gået og spillet profet.
 Den Magre.
I udlandet? Humbug! *De flestes seen*
ins blaue slutter i støbeskeen (11. 4496-7).

⁸ Cf. his letter to Bjørnson, September 12, 1865: "Jeg læser ikke andet end bibelen—den er kraftig og stærk."

⁹ Cf. Peer's exclamation in the Mad House: "Jeg er et papirblad og blir aldrig beskrevet." The same idea occurs in poetic form when Peer (Act V) exclaims: "Hvor var jeg med Guds stempel på min pande?"

¹⁰ Logeman (p. 189) has enumerated the Biblical passages where this thought occurs, namely, Luke 9, 25, Matthew 16, 26 and Mark 8, 36; to which I add John 12, 25.

Peer has been offering his testimony as a legitimate candidate for Hell; one piece of evidence to this effect is that he has played the rôle of prophet—"jeg har gået og spillet profet." To this the Devil objects on the ground that "most people's looking-into-the blue ends in the casting-ladle."

The phrase *seen ins blaue* is, of course, a Norwegianized rendering of the German *ins Blaue sehen* "to gaze into vacancy." The phrase *ins Blaue* "at random" is used of any idle action without definite goal. Evidently then the Devil implies that the office of a prophet is one of *idle speculation*, i.e., *mere theory without practice*. That such people (i.e., prophets) as indulge in this type of speculation are destined for the casting-ladle is a logical inference on the Devil's part: "der kræves både kraft og alvor til en synd."¹¹ Peer was naturally a dreamer and therefore the rôle of prophet, as defined by the Devil, exactly suited him. An office which involves mere *theory without practice* is in itself conducive to only "half-way" sins, to commit which requires no great will nor real character. This, at least, is my interpretation of the Devil's answer to Peer; a passage upon which Logeman (p. 345) seems unwilling to comment ("late spørgsmaalet gaa videre").

It will be noted that the Devil says: "*Most people's* looking-into-the blue ends in the casting-ladle." The Devil evidently exempts certain prophets from Peer's fate. Is Ibsen again speaking here and does he have Brand and his ilk in mind? Peer was a false prophet, Brand a genuine prophet; but there was also this difference between the two (which is the point in question), namely, that Peer could never entirely live up to what he preached whereas the opposite was true of Brand. In the office of prophet, as in all other respects, Brand would escape the casting-ladle because he was *himself*, "alt eller intet."

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

University of Kansas.

¹¹ The Botton-Moulder's definition of that type of sin which exempts one from the casting-ladle.

REVIEWS

GERMANENTUM UND HELLENISMUS, UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GERMANISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE, von Franz Rolf Schröder. Germanische Bibliothek, II. Abteilung, Heft 17. Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1924. M6.

The title of this interesting 160-page monograph is rather deceptive, for after a preliminary survey of 34 pages (entitled *Kosmische Vorstellungen und Verwandtes*) the author devotes himself almost exclusively to the problem of the origin of the god Balder. He studies the Balder tradition under three heads: *Vegetationskulte* (pp. 39-67), *Die germanische Schicht* (pp. 68-107) and *Die Hellenistische Schicht* (pp. 108-153). An index of seven pages completes the little volume. The author is intimately acquainted with the theories of Neckel as set forth in the *Überlieferungen vom Gotte Balder* and elsewhere, and agrees with him in large measure. He however assumes a native vegetation demon (with his cult) to start with; this demon developed into the central figure of a higher cult under the influence of the oriental-hellenistic mystery cults, which had become *Erlösungsreligionen*. The thesis has much in its favor, and is presented plausibly. The reviewer must emphasize, however, the fact that nothing approaching a proof of the thesis is given, nor can it well be given, for the evidence is altogether too meager. As the author himself points out at the beginning, we know extremely little about the religion of our forefathers; the records are either wanting altogether, or they are fragmentary and largely untrustworthy. Moreover, the author has approached his problem with a set of assumptions the validity of which is more than doubtful. The *Hellenismus* of his title, though it does not reveal the true subject of the book, does reveal the author's orientation. Throughout the assumption is that the influence of classical antiquity was exerted upon Germania from the East, and the East only. Thus, on p. 4 we are told that the runes were derived *in der Hauptsache* from the Greek alphabet rather than the Latin. But Holger Pedersen has recently shown (*Runernes Oprindelse*, in *Aarbøger* 1923) that the runes grew out of the Latin alphabet, and he has made it appear probable that this alphabet came to the Germans by way of the Celts. If so, the runes presumably originated on the Rhine. The best parallel to the division of the runes into groups is to be found, not in Pseudo-Tertullian (pp. 6 f.), but in the Irish Ogam-script. Again, the author notes (p. 27) Nils Åberg's derivation of the Scandinavian *Sternornamentik* from the Rhine, but he does not let this disturb him. He looks upon the runes as an example of Hellenistic influence, and puts their introduction in the second century (p. 38), *wie die Funde unzweideutig lehren*. Yet the *Funde* teach nothing of the sort. Inasmuch as the runes were ordinarily cut on wood, all record of them was ordinarily lost. It would be astonishing and almost unexampled, if the earliest inscriptions survived to us, and there is no good reason to assert with confidence that the earliest finds were likewise the earliest inscriptions. The runes may perfectly well have come into use as

early as the beginning of the Christian era, and there is a passage in cap. 10 of the *Germania* of Tacitus which must be taken seriously as a possible reference to runic writing. Certainly we must dismiss Hellenistic influence so far as the runes are concerned. And the case is not much better with the mystery cults. These cults (including Christianity) had spread over the whole Roman Empire, and they could affect the religious beliefs of the Germans by the western as well as by the eastern route. Certainly the cult of Woden came to Scandinavia from the West Germans, not from the East Germans (who seem to have made little of this divinity), and the spread of the cult of Balder to Scandinavia may perfectly well have been accomplished by the same route. Indeed, the parallel with Woden makes the western origin of Balder on the whole the more plausible hypothesis, although of course no definite solution of the problem is possible.

Various points of detail in Mr. Schröder's study strike me as dubious. On p. 34 the author quotes strophe 49 of the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* in an effort to prove that the bridge Bilröst is the Milky Way rather than the rainbow. But the passage shakes his thesis rather than supports it. Its *vindhjálms brúar* cannot well be separated from the *roðnar brautir* of the strophe's first line, and *roðnar brautir*, which is not bad as a description of the rainbow, does not fit the Milky Way at all. The denial of all connection between the Balder myth and the well known episode in *Beowulf* (p. 84) goes too far; I have already printed my views elsewhere (*Literary History of Hamlet I* 170), and need not repeat them here.¹ On the other hand, the author's argument that the *Skirnismál* was modeled on the story of Hermóðr's ride to Hel strikes me as convincing, and his etymology of *Sigyn* (he derives the name from an earlier **Siguwini* = **Sig-(tys)-win* 'friend or beloved of Óðinn' and explains it as an epithet properly belonging to Óðinn's wife Frigg) and his relation of *Sigyn's* vigil to that of Isis win my adherence. All in all, the book is distinctly worth reading, and has added to our understanding of Germanic mythology.

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NORWAY. By G. Gathorne Hardy. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1925 \$3.

It will not be an easy task for the distinguished historian and parliamentarian, the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., to find collaborators with the versatility and depth requisite to complete the Modern World Series so auspiciously begun with the books by Gooch on Germany, and Hardy on Norway. If by common consent he does, England may well be proud of her scholars!

While Gooch's book is altogether admirable as a *tour de force* in marshalling a vast array of economic, social, and spiritual facts so as to bring them to a sharp focus on the confused events of the last ten years in Germany, still it is chiefly and confessedly the work of a historian, however broadly trained and

¹ I may be permitted to add that if I were writing my *Hamlet* over again I would hardly attempt to reconcile the old light-and-darkness explanation of Balder and Vali with the later (and in my opinion the correct) theory of the origin of the myth from a vegetation cult.

visioned. Perhaps, in the case of Norway, presenting much less important and less intense problems than war-wracked Germany, a greater variety of approach, a greater multiplicity of details, was called for, and feasible within approximately the same compass; even though it would seem to me that a greater concentration on the more immediate antecedents to the present state of the kingdom would, here too, have made for greater solidity. As it is, I cheerfully acknowledge the breadth of Mr. Hardy's scholarship which ranges from an independent discussion of the origins of the Edda and the archeology of the Peninsula to the causes of the late Banking Crisis of Norway, the rentability of the Electrification of the countryside, the economic history of Norwegian shipping—to mention only a few topics out of the many.

Well, it may be with that as with the readers of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, who rise one and all from the perusal of some lengthy topic in that great storehouse of knowledge, well satisfied with its evident authoritativeness, comprehensiveness, and so forth—all except the specialist. He knows—or thinks he knows—better.

But after stating that the treatment by Hardy of some subjects in my own tiny province of the literature and language of the older times in Scandinavia, shows a tendency to call in question a number of points well established by competent authorities,—points, by the way, not at all vital to the main issues—after stating this I have said all I can possibly say by way of disparagement (to save my critical face); and can say with a clean conscience that this is incomparably the best book we have on the new Norway, whether by native or foreign authors. A book, in a word, such as one can with pleasure recommend to a thoughtful traveller or diplomat who would seriously attain a balanced and impartial survey of the country. Moreover, it makes capitally good reading.

The small North European countries hold a lesson for us Americans, intoxicated as we are by the sheer magnitude of physical things, the output of our mines, and fields, and factories. Containing fewer inhabitants than some of our Brobdingnagian anthills they have won recognized places in all higher fields of endeavor by their distinguished services to civilization.

As Hardy says concerning the country perhaps best known to us through the Eddas and Sagas, and the names of such as Ibsen, Björnson, Nansen—"one cannot help being impressed by the richness of the production in a country with so small a population. In spite of a language not widely known or studied, European or even world-wide reputations have in some cases been established. There must be something, one feels, in the country and the composition of its inhabitants which has thus produced outstanding literature in its earliest and its latest days."

This is emphatically borne out by Norway's contributions in other lines as well. Most pertinent at the present time is the story of how steady, but consistent and restrained pressure, "passive resistance," applied for a full century to its bigger brother, Sweden, finally brought about peaceful separation. Not a drop of blood was shed, nor a tear; yet the total energy expended by the whole nation in that time is impressive.

In general it may be said, to hearten the pacifist and to discomfit the mili-

tarist that, whereas no part of the world has lived in such real peace, for a century now, as has Scandinavia, owing to the wisdom of her statesmen and, to be sure, also to her comparative isolation, yet no visitor can help being impressed with the sturdiness, the virility, of her population. Security of life, good food, healthy conditions of life, the hard physical work suggested by James as a substitute for war, seem to sustain the stamina of a race even better than the killing off and maiming of its fittest members!

Of the three Scandinavian countries, Norway unquestionably has the most marked individuality. The country itself, its inhabitants, its history and literature both ancient and modern, its very location so far North, are outstanding and unforgettable features. Altogether, Norway has been an arresting figure on the world's stage. Is a change indicated? Will its salient human features become internationalized in the near future by rapid industrialization? Its massive mountains will remain. Afforestation will only add to their attractiveness. But will its roaring cataracts disappear in the conduits of turbines? Will that picturesque, ay unique individual, the Norwegian *bonde*, (yeoman farmer) leave his stony fields for the loom and the electric furnace, and thus lose his fine independence and his versatility and become *déraciné*—like the rest of us? Should the State consciously regulate—retard—the inevitable? This is the grave problem most insistently troubling the leaders of Norway. After reading the author's masterly, and especially sympathetic, chapters on the *bonde*, Industrial Development, and War and After, one confesses to a feeling that the existing order of things, in that country at least, has many good points, after all, and that the later state may not necessarily be the better. In other words, that here at any rate, Conservatism may be a respectable point of view.

Again, as in nearly every Western country now, the liquor question is the subject for vehement differences of opinion. In the case of Norway, the way of the prohibitionist has been especially hard. The fact that the recent vote has gone against him must, however, be interpreted with care; for it is in large measure due to complications by outside pressure: binding reciprocal treaties have forced Norway to import a considerable amount of heavy Spanish and Portuguese wines if she would not lose her codfish trade by ruinous tariff obstructions. It is certainly aggravating not to be master in one's own house, to have social legislation yield to foreign pressure! But there is hope. Perhaps the American tourist will do his share—or more—to consume the stipulated amount.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

University of Texas.

The Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at the University Club, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, on Friday and Saturday, May 6-7, 1927.

First Session, Friday May 6, 2 P. M.

In the absence of the President and of the Vice-President, the meeting was called to order by the Secretary, Professor Joseph Alexis, whereupon Professor Jules Mauritzson was elected temporary chairman. Professor Julius Olson in his address of welcome to the Society called attention to the fact that the Ygdrasil Society of Madison had now reached its thirtieth anniversary.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. Gleanings from *Peer Gynt*—15 minutes. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. This paper was discussed by Professors Geo. T. Flom, Julius Olson, and Jules Mauritzson.

2. The Recommendations of the Copenhagen Conference on Phonetic Transcription—20 minutes. By Professor Geo. T. Flom, University of Illinois. Discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Jules Mauritzson.

3. Recent Outstanding Books on Scandinavian Subjects—20 minutes. By Professor Julius Olson, University of Wisconsin. Discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Geo. T. Flom.

4. The Development of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study—15 minutes. By Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska. The paper called attention to the growth of the Society. The membership has reached the thousand mark, and the endowment fund has been increased this year by \$805.00. Professor Geo. T. Flom moved that the Society express by a rising vote of thanks its appreciation of the donation of the secretary, who contributed half of this sum to the Fund.

5. Some Indications of the Primitive Style of a Swedish *Miracle de Notre Dame*—10 minutes. By Mr. M. S. Peterson, University of Nebraska. This paper was read by Prof. Joseph Alexis.

The following committees were appointed. For Nominating Committee, Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Julius Olson. For Auditing Committee, Professors Geo. T. Flom and Julius Olson. As a Committee on Resolutions, Professor Geo. T. Flom.

At six fifteen visiting members were guests of Professor Julius Olson at a dinner at the University Club, after which the visitors were guests of the

Ygdrasil Society at the home of Mrs. N. O. Stark. Dr. Geo. R. Qualley read a paper on the Life and Work of John Ericson. Professor Jules Mauritzson spoke in Swedish on the same subject. Professor Joseph Alexis gave an account of the drive for the John Morton Memorial Building at Philadelphia. The rest of the evening was spent in the singing of songs, led by Professor Julius Olson, and in a social hour.

Second Session, Saturday, May 7, 9:30 A. M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor C. N. Gould.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

A vote of thanks was offered the Editor and the Secretary-Treasurer for the faithful work of the past year.

The following Corresponding Members were elected: For Denmark, Gudmund Schütte; For Norway, Knut Liestøl; for Sweden, Bengt Hesselman; for Germany, Eduard Sievers; for Holland, A. G. van Hamel; for France, Paul Verrier.

It was moved and carried that Dr. C. N. Gould be asked to write a letter of condolence to Mme Maurice Cahen, the widow of one of our Corresponding Members.

The following officers were elected:

President, Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa.

Vice-President, Professor Geo. T. Flom, University of Illinois.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet, Minneapolis High Schools.

Editor of Publications, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years, Professor C. N. Gould of the University of Chicago and Professor Lee M. Hollander of the University of Texas.

The reading of papers was resumed:

6. Old Icelandic Dwarf Names—15 minutes. By Professor C. N. Gould, University of Chicago. Discussed by Professor A. M. Sturtevant.

7. The Luther Letter in Strindberg's *Master Olof*. An Investigation of Strindberg's Method of Using Historical Sources—15 minutes. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. Discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant, Joseph Alexis, Julius Olson, and Geo. T. Flom.

8. An Indian Fairy Tale in Iceland—The Story of Linus, the King's Son—15 minutes. By Professor A. H. Krappe, University of Minnesota. This paper was read by Professor A. M. Sturtevant.

9. The Extent of the *Gryla* of the *Sverrissaga*—20 minutes. By Professor Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas. Read by Professor Flom. Discussed by Professors Paul Knaplund and Julius Olson.

Mr. Olaf E. Ray of Chicago spoke on the importance of Scandinavian studies.

It was moved to amend the constitution to admit patron members.

It was moved and carried that the Society express its gratitude to the American-Scandinavian Foundation for its loyal co-operation and financial assistance.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: "We desire to express to the University of Wisconsin and to Professor Julius E. Olson the thanks of the Society for the kind welcome extended to us and for the delightful hospitality enjoyed here by us on the occasion of this the 17th annual meeting of our Society. Also we wish to express our appreciation to the Ygdrasil Society for the delightful evening they gave us as part of our banquet program."²

The resolution was adopted.

Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

An Old Norse Trilogy

NORSE MYTHOLOGY

By P. A. MUNCH *and* MAGNUS OLSEN

Translated by S. B. HUSTVEDT

Since 1840 Peter Andreas Munch's handbook of NORSE MYTHOLOGY has been a standard work in Norway. Later scholarship has modified it but has not replaced it in popular favor or scholarly prestige. It is a tribute to the enduring quality of Munch's work that the authority of our day, Professor Magnus Olsen, of the Royal University of Norway, chose to bring up to date the older historian's text rather than attempt a new study. The result is NORSE MYTHOLOGY, translated from the Norwegian by Dr. S. B. Hustvedt.

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SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCES IN THE WORKS OF WILLIAM DUNLAP AND RICHARD ALSOP

During the summer of 1793, while resting at his home in Litchfield, Connecticut, Elihu Hubbard Smith, M. D. (1771-1798) compiled, edited and published in his home town the first large collection of American poetry, thereby preserving, in the words of Annie Russell Marble, "many scattered verses by his friends and other writers, which would otherwise have remained unknown."¹ Among the poems thus preserved are three so different from the others, and particularly in content, that they deserve special consideration in the *Scandinavian Studies*. These deal with Scandinavian themes, showing that the interest in the North, its legends, and ancient history, which characterized in a notable degree the Romantic movement in England and on the European continent, also found early expression in America.

The first poem in Dr. Smith's compilation with which we are concerned is *Ella, A Norwegian Tale*,² by William Dunlap (1766-1839), the well-known artist, playwright and historian of the early American theatre. *Ella* seems to be the first non-dramatic work by the author that we know anything about, and though of decidedly fanciful and mediocre quality, it was by contemporaries judged meritorious enough to be reproduced in the following year, 1794, in *The Columbian Muse*, which, according to its title-page, comprised "A Selection of American Poetry from Various Authors of Established Reputation."³

¹ *Heralds of American Literature*, 166-167. Smith's collection bore the title *American Poems; Selected and Original* (Litchfield, 1793).

² The writer is indebted to Dr. Theodore A. Zunder of the English Department of Brown University for calling his attention to the poems treated in this article. Dr. Zunder has, besides, shown an active interest and coöperation in the preparation of this paper, which is herewith gratefully acknowledged. *Ella* is found on pp. 226-231 of Smith's anthology.

³ The poem is reprinted in *The Columbian Muse*, pp. 215-218. It had, also, as the writer has just learned, first appeared in the *New York Magazine or Literary Repository* for April, 1791, and had later been reprinted in the *Lady's Magazine and Repository* (January, 1793). The whole poem, under the title of

There is no doubt about the authorship of the poem, and Oscar Wegelin includes *Ella* (item 37) in his bibliography of Dunlap's writings (1916). So far as the writer has been able to determine, however, the "Norwegian Tale" is Dunlap's only work on a Scandinavian subject.

The story of *Ella* is briefly indicated by the author himself in a sentence prefacing the poem.

History says that Sivard, King of Sweden, entered Norway with a numerous army, and committed the greatest enormities, but was at last overthrown, his Army routed, and himself slain by one of those women whom he had brutally abused.

This abused woman is *Ella*, daughter of the King, an amazon disguised in male garb and armor as Prince Eric, who frees her country and thus takes a place in literature—though not in history—beside such characters as Jeanne d'Arc of the French, *Blända* of the Swedes, and *Judith* of the Hebrews. A Northern minstrel and warrior, *Athold*, is introduced to give the epic a semblance of local color, and it is *Athold* who acts as master of patriotic and belligerent ceremonies. The author has, to be sure, succeeded in finding and sprinkling in his narrative a few names that are found in Scandinavian legends and in various periods of Scandinavian history, such as *Sivard*, *Ella*, *Rollo*, *Adolphus*, and *Olaus*, but others like *Culullin*, *Marco*, *Streno*, and *Calmar*⁴ remind us more of *Ossian* than anything in strictly Scandinavian history.

The metrical and general character of the poem can be effectively illustrated only by quoting a large portion of it, including the first three and the last eight stanzas.⁵

Between Norwegian hills, wide spreads a plain,
By Nature form'd for sport;
The vet'ran warrior here, and hardy swain,
To annual games resort.

Ella. A Tale, is reproduced in *Translations of German Poetry in German Magazines 1741-1810 Together with Translations of Other Teutonic Poetry and Original Poems Referring to the German Countries* by Edward Ziegler Davis (Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1905, pp. 130-134).

⁴ Cf. *Ossian, Fingal*—Book I. That "*Calmar*" also happens to be the name of a city in Sweden, was, we may be quite sure, unknown to Dunlap.

⁵ There are thirty-three stanzas in all.

High o'er their heads was hung the hoary brow,
Which cast an ample shade;
From thence these words majestic seem'd to flow—
Fierce foes your sports invade!

They upward gaze—a warrior struck their sight;
He bore aloft his lance,
All sheath'd in arms, insufferably bright,
Where beamy splendours dance.

.

Ye sons of Norway! hearken to my tale,
Your rural games oh cease;
Sivard is marching through Dulvellon's vale,
Break off the sports of peace!

The bloody Sivard leads his conqu'ring Swedes,
He riots in our shame;
The man, the matron, and the infant bleeds—
Norway is but a name!

.

Rouse! rouse Norwegians! seize your arms amain,
Let helms o'er shade the brow;
Let's meet these Swedish demons on the plain,
And lay their triumphs low.

.

With shouts they press to see the beauteous chief;
The aged kiss his hand!
On either side fast rolled the marks of grief,
Then Athold spoke the band—

Ye sons of Norway, to your homes repair,
There seize the sword and shield,
And ere the morning's purple streaks the air,
Meet Eric in the field.

Oh Prince! do you with aged Athold go,
And take refreshing sleep;
Athold will sing, and soothe the rising woe,
Or—break his harp and weep.—

.

Bright came the morn! and bright in batter'd arms
The rustic vet'rans came;
And many a youth, untried in rough alarms,
Now hop'd a patriot's name.

They hear'd from far the hum of Sivard's host;
 Young Eric struck his shield;
 Then high in air his heavy spear he tost,
 And blaz'd along the field.

Next aged Athold follow'd; Rollo strong;
 Black Calmar lifts his mace;
 Culullin, Marco, Streno, rush along,
 And all the rugged race.

Fierce came the Swede, in strength of numbers proud,
 He scorn'd his feeble foe;
 But soon the voice of battle roar'd aloud,
 And many a Swede lay low.

.

In fury Sivard seiz'd his shining shield,
 His mail, his helm, and spear;
 He mounts his car,⁶ he thunders o'er the field;
 And Norway knows to fear.

Great Rollo falls beneath his dreadful arm,
 His steeds are stained with blood;
 Young Eric smil'd to hear the loud alarm,
 And flew to stop the flood.

He rag'd, he foam'd,—fierce flew the thirsty spear,
 Down fell the foremost steed:
 Astonish'd Sivard felt unusual fear—
 "Tyrant, thou'rt doom'd to bleed!"

Up sprung the youth—deep griding fell the sword
 Sunk in the Tyrant's brow;
 Fast fly the Swedes, and leave their hated lord,
 His tow'ring pride⁶ laid low.

Now Norway's sons their great deliverer hail,
 But lo! he bleeds! he falls!
 Old Athold strips the helm and beamy mail,
 And on his Gods⁶ he calls.

He lifts the helm, and down the snowy neck
 Fast falls the silky hair—
 "And could those limbs, the conquering Sivard check
 Oh Pow'r of great despair!"

⁶ The author apparently assumes that the Swedish king rode in a battle chariot.

Life ebbs apace—she lifts her languid head,
 She strives her hand to wave,
 Confess'd to all, the beauteous Ella said—
 "Thanks, thanks companions brave."

"Freedom rewards you—naught can Ella give
 Low, low, poor Ella lies;
 Sivard is dead! and Ella would not live."—
 She bleeds, she faints, she dies.

The plot of this ballad is pure invention, so far as application of legend or authentic facts go. History knows of no Sivard who was king of Sweden, nor of any Swedish ruler who is distinctly notorious for such atrocities in Norway as are attributed to him by Dunlap. But this violence to truth is of small consequence, albeit he in this instance seems to have transgressed even the widest limits of a reasonable poetic license. We may justly wonder, however, how he came to choose such a subject in the first place, and whether he ever came across a Scandinavian tradition of any kind, where a tale similar to his *Ella* was recorded, and, if so, whether he was influenced by it.

We are unable to answer the first query by anything except conjectures. Dunlap had acquired a little French before the year 1780, had somewhere "picked up a little German,"⁷ and in his work of adaptation and translation of plays from these languages, and in his browsing in general, he may have come into a superficial contact with some Scandinavian stories in a non-Scandinavian tongue. (It is tolerably certain that he had no first-hand knowledge of Scandinavian tradition and culture). He may also have received an introduction to ancient Scandinavian pseudo-history from his chief friend and erstwhile instructor, Thomas Barton, an old hermit-like character, from whose lips he had heard the stories of Troy, Latium, Heaven and Hell, and other real or imaginary places. But it is more probable that Dunlap conceived his curious tale while in England—between 1784 and 1787—where an interest in things Scandinavian was more in fashion, and where he could not help being exposed to its atmosphere. He may too have received an impetus in the Philological Society, of which he became a

⁷ Cf. Oral Sumner Coad, *William Dunlap*, 27.

member upon his return to America, 1787, and which counted such eminent men among its members as Noah Webster. But this is surmise.

As for the story itself, it seems highly probable that Dunlap made some slight use of the *Ragnar Lodbrok Saga*, which in the eighteenth century enjoyed a noteworthy popularity in England and elsewhere. In the variants of this saga are found the names Sivard, Ella, and Eric, although Dunlap paid no attention whatever to the association of these names with the characters whom they represented in the tradition. In the original, Sivard is Ragnar's paternal grandfather, a king rightly enough, but of *Norwegian* nationality; Ella is a male personage, being a Northumbrian king of the ninth century; and Eric is Ragnar's eldest son. Incidentally, the writer has been unable to find a single instance where "Ella" in Scandinavian legend represents a female character.⁸ There is a version of the *Lodbrok Saga*, however, a legend from Trondhjem, related by Saxo Grammaticus, which corresponds in some essential details with those of *Ella*. It runs as follows:

Froe, king of Sweden, to be identified with the god Frey, has slain the Norwegian king Sivard, the father of Ragnar's father, and has carried off women belonging to the royal house. Ragnar takes vengeance, and in the struggle against Froe receives aid from sundry Norwegian women; at their head marches Lathgertha [later Ragnar's first wife], a maiden used to warfare, with her hair hanging down her shoulders. . . .⁹

This is substantially the theme employed by Dunlap. Disregarding mere names, we have here a Swedish king who has done violence against a royal Norwegian house and who in consequence suffers a vengeance in which a maiden warrior takes a leading part. It seems plausible then to suggest that the author took this general topic; added a couple of names from other versions of the saga; made such transfers of names as best suited his ear, meter, and personal whim—leaving the Norwegian king without a name, for in Ella he becomes simply a "hoary monarch"—and, manufacturing a few more in the

⁸ Even Dr. Elihu Smith wrote under the pseudonym of "Ella."

⁹ Peter Andreas Munch, *Norse Mythology* (*Scandinavian Classics*, XXVII, New York, 1926-7), Notes, pp. 357-8.

fashionable Ossianic vein, proceeded to write a tragic epic of vengeance. The title was sufficiently novel in America to cast a glamor of romance and mystery over the work. Of course the borrowing of such a name as "Eric" proves, by itself, nothing about the origin of the poem, Eric being a common Scandinavian name, but "Ella," whether we search in legend or ancient history, occurs only in the *Ragnar Lodbrok Saga*. It is the combination of Ella, Eric, and Sivard in the same tale which has some significance. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, whatever the origin, the details and execution of the poem are original, the products of pure imagination, and as such are not conspicuously successful. *Ella* is spirited, and contains some good verse; but it is difficult for a reader somehow to take its story and import seriously. It produces no tragic impression, no fear or trembling; it reminds one—almost—of a puerile academic exercise, which is devoid of genius, is labored and unconvincing. Its chief interest lies in its uncommon subject, and as an example of original effort it has historically at least a pioneer importance.

We do not know the exact date of composition of Dunlap's *Ella*; it might well have been written several years before it appeared in print. We do know—a fact which may appropriately be mentioned here—that an occasional reference to Scandinavian items is found in the American literature of the preceding decade. Indeed, a striking Swedish influence is definitely recorded in Cotton Mather's witchcraft polemic *The Wonders of the Invisible World* which had appeared a whole century before Dr. Smith's collection of native poets, and after about 1740 references to things Scandinavian in American periodicals had by no means been uncommon. Philip Freneau had in 1782, in the *Freeman's Journal*, published a "Scandinavian War Song," a translation from the Latin based on the transmitted fallacy that the chief pleasure of a Viking's immortality was to drink beer out of the skulls of his slain enemies; Joel Barlow, in his *Vision of Columbus*, 1787, indicated how the Northern powers were affected by the affairs in America during her revolution, and in Book VIII made mention of "Odin's friends;" a reference to the scientist Linnaeus was made in a

note by the author to *The Triumph of Infidelity* (1788) by Timothy Dwight. About this time the Delaware Swedes were touched upon by at least one American poet; and in 1788 *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine* reprinted in Nos. 20 and 21 *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin* by Thomas Gray, poems which since their publication in 1768 had probably done more in Great Britain to arouse interest in Norse mythology than any other literary attempt.—The last-mentioned subject brings us to the second part of our paper.

Of vastly greater importance than Dunlap's experiment are the other two American poems to which we referred in the opening paragraph, and which appeared as inferred in Dr. Smith's compilation in 1793. These are *Twilight of the Gods* and (the specimens from) the *Conquest of Scandinavia*¹⁰ by Richard Alsop, whose chief Scandinavian interest lay in Norse mythology and Northern legendary history. Alsop (1761–1815), born in Middletown, Connecticut, was a gifted poet who appears to have carried on most of his literary labors for self-amusement. A witty political satirist, a naturalist, and ultimately a wealthy merchant, he seems to have found abundant leisure to acquire a good knowledge of several languages, and to have gained special recognition and honor for his "Runic" poetry. He was a member of "The Connecticut Wits," and was regarded as one of the cleverest in the group. A bookworm and gentleman withal, he combined successfully bookishness with popularity. He entered Yale College, but did not graduate, having been withdrawn by his father to take up the mercantile business. He was then for the most part a self-educated scholar. "To an excellent knowledge of the classics," says Vernon Louis Parrington, "he added a generous acquaintance with English literature, and he even carried his studies into continental fields, French, Italian, and Spanish, extending them so far as to embrace the Scandinavian literatures. A pronounced leaning towards the new Gothic spirit that was undermining the Wit ideal in England, is revealed in his translations from *Ossian* and his fondness for the *Eddas*. Pale and exotic as such work might be, it sets him apart from the other members of the group

¹⁰ Pp. 265–272 and 272–284, respectively.

[The Connecticut Wits], allaying him with certain of the minor Philadelphia poets who followed the Gothic fashion more closely."¹¹ Of his translations (or adaptations) from foreign tongues, his Scandinavian poems and his versification of *Ossian* were naturally considered particularly ambitious attempts. His *Conquest of Scandinavia* remained a fragment, but he made considerable progress in the work, and a part of it, "The Incantation of Ulfo,"¹² was reproduced in 1829 in Samuel Kettell's *Specimens of American Poetry*.¹³ "Mr. Alsop possessed an extensive knowledge of the Scandinavian mythology, and had the poem the [*Conquest of Scandinavia*] been completed, it would have proved highly creditable to his learning as well as his poetical talents," asserts a critic in 1843,¹⁴ an opinion with which the writer is inclined to agree. Furthermore, Alsop's diligence and credit become strikingly apparent when we consider the obvious difficulty of procuring the requisite teachers and books in Middletown, before 1793. Fortunately he found much general material in his father's library. He seems to have been better acquainted with the foreign literature and history than almost any other American of his day. We should know more about Richard Alsop.

Alsop, in the mode of his time, called his Scandinavian verse "Runic" poetry. The full title of the first one is *Twilight of the Gods; Or Destruction of the World. From the Edda, A System of Ancient Scandinavian Mythology*. The work is a very free, independent version of the *Völuspá* in iambic and trochaic tetrameters with rhyming couplets and accompanied by copious footnotes (illustrated below) explaining the mythological references.¹⁵ The following lines with mythological notes from

¹¹ Introduction to *The Connecticut Wits* (1926), xxxi-xxxii.

The present writer hopes to make an investigation later of this "Gothic fashion" among the Philadelphia poets. It is obvious that Scandinavian influences in early American literature have been more potent and wide-spread than we have hitherto realized.

¹² The original has "Ulso."

¹³ II, 61-67.

¹⁴ Rev. Charles W. Everest, *The Poets of Connecticut*, 93.

¹⁵ Thomas James Mathias, an English writer, had made a translation in rhyming tetrameters of the Norse *Ragnarök* which he had called *The Twilight*

the beginning and middle portion of the poem will show the quality of Alsop's work.

A time shall come, a barbarous time,
Dark shadowed o'er with every crime,
When ties of kin shall cease to bind,
In love's soft bands, the human mind:
When sons their fathers' blood shall pour,
And brother blush with brother's gore:
When, lost to every tender care,
Not one his dearest friend shall spare;
And man, oppress'd with bitterest woes,
Wish the sad scene of life to close.

Winter, clad in wild array,
Then shall hold his direst sway;
The sun withdraw his golden light,
And veil the world in darkest night;
The winds with wildest rage contend;
The snow in ceaseless storms descend;
The earth in icy fetters bound;
And desolation glare around.
Uncherish'd by one genial ray,
Three such winters pass away.

Fenris|| bursts his iron chain;
Nought his fury can restrain;

||Fenris,—or the Wolf—, of all the others a monster most dreaded by the Gods; who by stratagem confined him with a magic chain; which he breaks at the dissolution of nature.

of the Gods and published in *Runic Odes*, 1781, and which had subsequently been reprinted at least twice before Alsop's version appeared; but with the possible exception of the idea itself and meter it had no influence upon the American's translation, and it is not certain that he even saw it. Cf. Frank Edgar Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement*, p. 50 and note 1 and p. 96 and note 4. Mathias's odes, as we observe in Farley's work, were reprinted in New York in 1806 in a book called *The Garland of Flowers*. Mathias had included Welsh and Ossianic material in his "Runic" odes, giving the term an unusually elastic sense.

The Reverend Joseph Sterling, another Englishman, had in his *Poems* (London, 1789) published two *Odes from the Icelandic*. One of these had treated the same subject, *Twilight of the Gods*. See Farley, *op. cit.*, 115-117. I am inclined to believe that Alsop wrote his piece before Sterling's was published. The question is not of primary moment.

His nostrils sparkling flames expire;
 His eye-balls flash terrific fire;
 Urged by rage, by vengeance driven,
 He rends the beauteous sun from heaven:
 The Serpent floods of venom pours
 O'er the wide sea and circling shores;

Rocks rush on rocks, together hurl'd
 Destruction triumphs o'er the world;
 From the torn concave of the sky,
 The affrighted stars confus'dly fly;
 The vaults of heaven in sunder rend;
 The evil Genii swift ascend;
 Pour'd from the south, in terrors dire,
 Before them moves the Prince of Fire,
 Surtur* the Black, in flames array'd—
 Shines like the sun his waving blade,
 The sign of death; with him their might
 The Serpent, Fenris, Loke unite;
 Succeeds a death-determined host,
 The hideous Giants of the Frost
 His crooked trumpet Heimdall† takes,
 With potent breath the blast awakes;
 Far heard thro' heaven's remotest bound,
 Pours the shrill clangor of the sound;
 Loud crows the Cock, the bird divine,
 Whose crests in golden glory shine;
 Hoarse from beneath, with dismal cries,
 The Herald black of death replies;
 Trembles the sacred Ash‡ with dread,
 And groaning shakes its lofty head;
 All nature's fill'd with wild affright;
 The Gods, convened, prepare for fight.

*Surtur,—the destroying Principle; supposed to reside in the South, in the flaming Gulf of Muspelsheim; leader of the Evil Genii, who are to destroy the Universe by Fire.

†Heimdall,—Centinel of Heaven.

‡The Sacred Ash of Ygdrasil, under which the Council of the Deities is held.

For reasons which we shall now discuss we believe the immediate source of Alsop's translation—if we can call it such—to be Paul Henry Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Danemarck* (1755–1756), which had already furnished the incentive for most of the English writings based on ancient Scandinavia,

its religion, literature, history and general culture. Mallet's famous work contains, in the second volume, numerous extracts from the *Prose Edda*, including the portion of *Ragnarök* dealing with the final destruction of the world according to the concepts of the ancient Norsemen, and which in turn is based, as students know, on the *Völuspá* in the *Poetic Edda*. It is not likely that the edition of the *Prose Edda* by Resenius (1665), for instance, or that Göranson's *Völuspá* (1750), both in Old Norse, Latin, and in one modern Scandinavian dialect, were available to Alsop. Nor is it likely that he, despite his linguistic accomplishments, was well enough acquainted with the Scandinavian languages to translate direct from the original. Very few contemporary English scholars or writers were, and a knowledge of Old Norse was extremely rare. And it was not necessary to read Old Norse; plenty of material was obtainable in other tongues. To be sure, Bishop Percy had translated Mallet's work into English, under the title *Northern Antiquities*, as early as 1770; but if Alsop ever saw a copy of it—which is doubtful—he paid no attention to its contents, for Percy in his preface criticises the common confusion of the Celts with the Scandinavians, of which Mallet and his predecessors¹⁶ had been guilty, and in his *Conquest of Scandinavia* Alsop copies the old traditional mistake. His source, therefore, must directly or indirectly have been Mallet, who was the one chiefly responsible for this protracted confusion, which extended into the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A subject which in the eighteenth century proved of great interest to antiquarian minds and writers was the origin of the Scandinavians. Was Odin a historical personage? If so, when did he and his followers arrive in Scandinavia, and what did they do on the journey thither? Was there any wholesale

¹⁶ In calling attention to the error of confusing "Gothic" and Celtic nations, Percy writes: "This crude opinion, which perhaps was first taken up by [Philip] Cluverius [1616], and maintained by him with uncommon erudition, has been since incautiously adopted by [Johan Georg] Keysler [1720] and [Simon] Pelloutier [1750 in *Histoire des Celtes*], the latter of whom has, with great diligence and skill, endeavored to confirm it." Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, Bohn ed., London, 1859, p. 2.

emigration of Asiatics into the North?¹⁷ Richard Alsop caught the spirit of the general curiosity concerning this problem and the result was his *Conquest of Scandinavia*. His chief Scandinavian source was undoubtedly Mallet's version of Snorre's *Prose Edda*, with some suggestions possibly from the *Heimskringla*, which was available in the pioneer edition of 1697-1700 by Peringskjöld. The details of the alleged Odinic migration northward differed sufficiently in the various versions of the tradition, and were obscure enough, to give a modern poet plenty of freedom for the exercise of imagination and arbitrary emphasis, and Alsop made full use of this opportunity. In fact, if we were to judge from the extract preserved—which is limited to the introduction of the fourth book—we should conclude that there was very little Scandinavian matter left in the epic save a few names and some distant echoes of Norse mythology. The rest consists of an incantation, with its necessary preliminaries, in the mode of Shakespeare, localized we know not where, except that it is a place not far from the camp of the Scandinavians. Yet we must be cautious lest we do Alsop an injustice. His epic was obviously planned on a gigantic scale, and though never completed, we must assume from the part rescued from oblivion by Dr. Smith that Alsop's finished portion comprised at least four large books, and since the manuscript appears to be lost, we are of course unable to judge of the work as a whole. It is not improbable that the unpublished part contained more truly Scandinavian material than the small extract which we have; for since the Scandinavian references were, after all, less intelligible to the average reader than Classical, English or French, for instance, the compiler might well choose a portion having a more general appeal. Besides, Smith's anthology was intended to be representative in every way; the part chosen illustrates another phase of Alsop's talent; and so far as his strictly Scandinavian interest was concerned, this was amply exemplified in *Twilight of the Gods*, in the same volume.

¹⁷ On the general subject of Odin as an historical character cf. Farley, *op. cit.*, 190-203.

According to legend, Odin was a mighty warrior and sorcerer, a man of great eloquence, wisdom and renown, who lived in Asgard on the banks of the Tanais, somewhere in Asia—often indefinitely designated as Scythia—and who ultimately fled northward to escape the wrath of the Romans. Tradition connected his name with the city of Troy and "Tyrklandia." Later Odin appeared in Saxland and in what is now Danish territory and finally settled in Sweden.¹⁸ His sons became rulers of the Scandinavian countries. In his migration he "took possession of all that pleased him," says Snorre in the Prologue of his *Prose Edda*, and Alsop takes him at his word, assuming Odin to be a victorious leader of his people. Says Alsop in his prose introduction:

Odin having defeated the Scandinavians in several great battles, Woldomir, the druidical sovereign of Scandinavia, reduced to the utmost distress, obtains the assistance of Grymer, Prince of the Saraceni,—a Scythian Tribe,—the hereditary foe of Odin; and having assembled his forces on an extensive plain, near the banks of a river, prepares to attack the Enemy, who are encamped on the opposite shore.—The present Book commences with the Night preceding the engagement.

In other words, the Scandinavian king, in dire straits, is obliged to seek assistance from a foreign prince against the invincible conqueror Odin.

It is in this introduction, as the reader has already noticed, that we detect Alsop's error in assuming that the Celts and the Germanic Scandinavians were identical. He speaks of the

¹⁸ Besides the Prologue in the *Prose Edda*, the first five chapters of the *Heimskringla*, and especially Chap. 5—all constituting a part of the *Ynglinga Saga*—are our best sources for the tale of Odin's migration. Says the *Heimskringla*, Chap. 5: "A great mountain-wall goes from the north-east to the south-west; that parts Sweden the Great from other realms; south of those mountains there is a long way to the land of the Turks, and there had Odin wide lands of his own. Now in those days fared the Lords of the Roman Folk wide over the world and beat down all peoples under them, but many lords and kings fled away from their own before the trouble of them: so where as Odin was foreseeing, and wise in wizardry, he knew that his offspring should people the Northern Parts of the World. So he set his brethren Ve and Vili over As-garth, but himself went his ways, and all the Diar with him, and much other folk withal; etc." Then follows a description of the journey into Saxland and other lands. See translation of *Heimskringla* by William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, *Saga Library*, 3, 15.

druidical sovereign of Scandinavia. This suggests to the writer another question of sources. In 1764 the English historian Edward Gibbon had published an *Examination of Mallet's Introduction*, in which he had showed himself "inclined to accept the tradition of a historical Odin,"¹⁹ and referred to the *Edda* as "the sacred book of the ancient Celts."²⁰ In 1776 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared. In this work the author again refers to Odin's reported migration, does not positively discredit the existence of a historical Odin, and in his conclusion states specifically that "this wonderful expedition of Odin . . . might supply the noble groundwork of an Epic Poem. . . ."²¹ Now it is reasonable to suppose that Alsop by 1790, let us say, had seen a copy of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, if he did not actually own a copy. It is, therefore, probable that Alsop received from Gibbon his idea of an epic on Odin's expedition and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that both Gibbon and Alsop confused the Celts with the Germanic peoples. The writer believes, then, that in addition to Mallet and others Gibbon was one of Alsop's sources.

The main argument of the poetic part of *The Conquest of Scandinavia* centers around the efforts of Prince Grymer to enlist the aid of the magician Ulso in the pending battle with Odin. Weird incantations, horrible witches, dismal surroundings and solemn disquisitions of wisdom and prophesy are described with compelling poetic effect. The Powers of Evil, whose aid is now sought in extremity, declare through Hela that their sway is limited. They can "annoy" and seriously interfere with the execution of plans decreed by the eternal gods, but they can never fundamentally alter the fated destinies of men.—Here the printed extract ends. Odin is to suffer a setback, but his life will go on, and his original plans favored by the god Woden²² will, presumably, be fulfilled.

¹⁹ Farley, *op. cit.*, 195.

²⁰ *Idem*, 202.

²¹ *Idem*, 202, quoted by Farley.

²² Note the distinction made between the historical *Odin* and the god *Woden*.

The following examples from Alsop's unique fragment will demonstrate that we are here dealing with an author of some talent, scope, knowledge and ambition. Nor is originality lacking. Thus speaks Prince Grymer to the Wizard, describing his plight:

"Perchance the Gods, too partial to the foe,
Our strength may wither, and our hopes o'erthrow;
For Odin long has prov'd their guardian care,
By Woden shielded in the storms of war;
And still the favoring God his aid affords,
And bears him harmless mid descending swords.
How oft has Scandia mourn'd her heroes' doom,
Swept, by that arm, in thousands, to the tomb!
Before his might her hosts have shrunk away,
Like mountain snows before the vernal ray.
Then let the all-conquering force of spells be tried,
And range the Powers of magic on our side;
Bid panic terror hover o'er their fight,
Chill the pale foe, and turn their steps to flight;
So may thy friend a double triumph prove,
And, with a nation's wrongs, avenge his flighted love."

The monarch ceas'd,—the words the wizard took,
While sarcasm smil'd contemptuous in his look.
"Dread'st thou that feeble race? Can Grymer's soul
Thus bend to phantom terror's vile controul?
Do thoughts like those which little minds debase,
Become the leader of a warlike race?
Thy mighty Woden, and his Gods, at most,
A narrow sway, and power precarious boast.
In time's first day-spring, when as yet the earth
Knew not its place, nor ocean roll'd to birth;
Alone one tropid, vast abyss, was seen,
Uncloth'd with form, undeck'd with cheerful green;
Ere man the breath of first existence drew;
Those sons of Bore the mighty Ymir slew,
By fraud his race confin'd, usurp'd the sway
O'er the blue mansions of unclouded day.
Yet still in fear their ill-got rule they hold,
Still dread the day, when vengeance uncontroll'd
Shall burst its chains, and, in destruction hurl'd,
A fiery deluge wrap the sinking world.
Then go, and Valhall's feeble Gods despise,
For Powers more mighty in thy aid shall rise;—

Those Powers who e'er the gloom of night preside,
Live in the storm, and on "the whirlwind ride;"—
Shall whelm in dust the foes presumptuous boast,
And roll dark ruin o'er their prostrate host."

The Wizard ceas'd—with brightening hopes inspir'd,
The Scythian monarch to his tent retir'd."

Here is the second incantation to the goddess Hela.

II.

Goddess! whose terrific sway
Nastrande's realms of guilt obey;
Where, amid impervious gloom,
Sullen frowns the serpent Dome;
Roll'd beneath the envenom'd tide,
Where the sons of sorrow 'bide;
Thee, the mighty Demon host;
Thee, the Giants of the Frost;
Thee, the Genii tribes adore;
Fenris owns thy sovereign power;
And the imperial Prince of Fire,
Surtur, trembles at thine ire.
Thine, the victor's pride to mar;
Thine, to turn the scale of war;
Chiefs and princes at thy call,
From their spheres of glory fall;
Empires are in ruin hurl'd;
Desolation blasts the world.

From the dreary realms below
From the dark domains of fear,
From the ghastly seats of woe,
Hear! tremendous Hela, hear!

The goddess appears, states her powers, and gives her prophesy:

More frightful, more deform'd, than Fancy's power
Pourtrays the demon of the midnight hour,
In hideous majesty, of various hue,
Part sallow pale, and part a livid blue,
A form gigantic, awful Hela frown'd;
His towering head with sable serpents crown'd;
Around her waist, in many a volume roll'd,

A crimson adder wreath'd his poisonous sold;
 And o'er her face, beyond description dread,
 A sulphury mist its shrouding mantle spread.
 Her voice, the groan of war, the shriek of woe
 When sinks the city whelm'd in gulphs below,
 In tones of thunger, o'er the cavern broke,
 And nature shudder'd as the Demon spoke.

"Presumptuous mortal! that, with mystic strain,
 Dost summon Hela from the realms of pain,
 What cause thus prompts thee rashly to invade
 The deep repose of death's eternal shade?
 What, from the abodes of never-ending night,
 Calls me, reluctant, to the climes of light?"

"Empress supremel whose wide-extended sway
 All nature owns, and earth and hell obey;
 The solemn call no trivial wish inspires;
 No common cause thy potent aid requires;
 The dooms of empires on the issue wait,
 And doubtful tremble in the scale of fate.
 The glow of morn, on yon extended heath,
 Will light the nations to the strife of death.
 There Saracinia's sons their force unite
 With Scandia's monarch, Woldomir, in fight;
 By strength combin'd, proud Odin to o'erwhelm,
 The fierce invader of the Scandian realm;
 By Woden favor'd with peculiar grace;
 Friend of the gods, and odious to thy race.
 Then, in the impending fight, thy succour lend,
 And o'er our host thy arm of strength extend;
 The hostile bands, protected by the foes,
 With dangers circle, and with ruin close;
 With wild dismay their shrinking ranks pervade;
 Whelm their pale numbers in the eternal shade;
 And wing, with certain aim, the missive dart,
 Or point the faulchion, to the leader's heart."

Thus Ulso spoke and Hela thus return'd.
 "Know, while in primal night creation mourn'd,
 The eternal cause, the great, all-ruling mind,
 The various term of human life assign'd;
 Irrevocably firm, the fix'd intent
 No power can vary, and no chance prevent.
 Mark'd, by the fates, for years of bloody strife,
 Rolls the long flood of Odin's varied life;

Nor is it ours the stern decree to thwart
 By open violence, or by covert art.
 Yet still the power is left us to annoy,
 Whom rigid heaven denies us to destroy;
 And, tho of life secure, the hostile chief,
 The wretched victim of severest grief,
 Shall mourn his arms disgrac'd, on yonder plain.
 His laurels blasted, and his heroes slain."

She ceased;—in thunder vanishing from view,
 The fiends, the cauldron, and the hags withdrew.
 Back to the camp the Inchanter sped his way,
 Ere, o'er the east, arose the first faint glimpse of day.

Little remains to be said in conclusion. Dunlap's *Ella* may be considered as an experiment only. It has little poetic value, and has little basis in fact or tradition. The general theme is a hackneyed one, but the exotic names of the characters and places give the poem a semblance of originality. Many verses read well, the movement of the poem is rapid, its meaning is clear certainly, and its narrative is interestingly told. Considered of some value in its time, the importance of it for us lies in the fact that its author, a well-known American writer, in its composition cast his eyes toward the Scandinavian peninsula in or before 1791. Alsop's "Runic" verse contains specimens of genuine poetry, based on wide study, serious interest and sympathy, though the *Conquest of Scandinavia* shows a tendency towards diffusion and a surcharge of erudition. His incantation in the latter reminds us naturally of the Witch scene in *Macbeth*. It is of considerable import historically that about the time when the Swedish poet Carl Gustaf av Leopold wrote his *Odin, eller Asarnes Utvandring* in the style of a French tragedy, and several years before the Swedish enthusiast Per Henrik Ling wrote his gigantic but unreadable *Asarne*, a native from the banks of the Connecticut treated the same theme. Alsop was probably the first American to base noteworthy original literary work on the *Eddas*. Both Dunlap and Alsop were, presumably, in a general way influenced by the so-called Gothic revival in England and on the continent.

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FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN DENMARK

In 1769 the dissipated young Christian VII of Denmark, having exhausted the limited possibilities of his kingdom, undertook a grand tour of Europe. Stopping on his way at the staid old German town of Altona, he added to his retinue a German physician, Johann Frederik Struensee, thirty-two years of age, of handsome appearance and engaging personality. This amiable combination of doctor, litterateur, adventurer and philosopher in the best style of the ancient regime, soon commanded a profound influence over the easy-going monarch, was retained in the position of physician in waiting, and later of reader to the King, became in a short year lover to the abandoned Queen, Carolina Matilda, and, by the fall of 1770, had ascended by this romantic road to the position of undisputed master of Denmark. He entered at once upon a career of reform, and within a year revolutionized the administration, the economy and society of the Kingdom. This most sweeping reform movement of eighteenth century Europe was inaugurated in September 1770, by a Cabinet Order granting unrestricted freedom of the press, and concluded on a black day in the early spring of 1772 when the ill-fated reformer paid with his life for his audacious liberalism.

The freedom of the press was the Pandora's box of the Struensee regime. Almost immediately upon his accession to power, Struensee had thrown open the lid with a gesture that excited the applause of Europe and inspired a verse from Voltaire. Struensee's philosophic principles and his personal experiences made a triumphant union with the liberal and literary movements in Denmark and in Europe to bring forth this dearest of all the children of the reform. The Cabinet Order of Sept. 4, 1770,¹ announcing the liberty of the press, with which Struensee baptised his administration, came with a startling suddenness that cannot be regarded as other than unfortunate. But neither

¹ Hansen, Holger, ed.: *Kabinettsstyrelsen i Danmark, 1768-1772. Aktstykker og oplysninger*, v. 1: 46.

can this abolition of censorship be disassociated from the liberal currents already abroad in Denmark since the middle of the century nor from the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment. Into a consideration, therefore, of the freedom of the press under Struensee, enter various factors: Struensee's own principles and experiences, the reform movement in Denmark which he inherited and to which he gave character, and the larger European movement of which his regime was a part.

Freedom of discussion is obviously a fundamental prerequisite to any reform movement. It was asserted and celebrated and defended by the leaders of the Enlightenment everywhere. The liberalism that characterized the countries of eighteenth century Europe can be said to have been in almost direct proportion to the degree of the freedom of the press. Holland and England, where almost complete liberty of the press obtained, were, in politics and in society, the most liberal and enlightened of European countries. The relative degree of liberty of the press allowed in France by the pseudo-enlightened Louis XVI, and the easy proximity to Holland and Switzerland where a great number of the more radical books were printed, were not without significance in making France preeminently the source and inspiration of the Enlightenment. Frederik II gave freedom to two Berlin papers, and to all learned and literary discussions in general;³ Joseph II of Austria allowed a certain degree of public discussion in his realms and practically unlimited freedom in Lombardy;⁴ Gustavus III of Sweden revived the decree of 1766 granting freedom of the press.⁴ To be sure all this was somewhat fragmentary in nature. In this respect, probably more than in any other, the enlightened despots failed to be consistent or even faithful to their philosophic creed. In republican Switzerland, too, Weltherin was prosecuted for his geography and Freudenberg's William Tell was burned.⁵ Perhaps it was not to be expected that the en-

³ Schiern, F., *Historiske Studier*, v. 1: 170 ff. Holm, Ed., *Nogle Hovedtræk af Trykkefrihedstidens Historie, 1770-1773*, 16 ff.

⁴ Vernon, R. N., *Italy*: 418.

⁵ Holm, *op. cit.*: 4.

⁶ Bain, H. M., *Gustav III*, v. 1: 162.

lightened despots themselves, with their firm faith that reforms should come from above rather than from below, would welcome or even allow full public discussion of public affairs. But the real leaders of the Enlightenment: the French Encyclopaedists, the Physiocrats, Voltaire and Rousseau, the leaders of the intellectual revival in Germany,—celebrated this principle.

Ostensibly a rigid censorship obtained in eighteenth century Denmark. A long list of laws and rescripts regulated this censorship.⁶ The Code of Christian V. provided that all books must be censored by the University;⁷ that all printed material concerning the King, government and administration, must be submitted to a censor appointed by the King; that no Danish books printed outside the realm might be imported into Denmark, nor any books in German discussing religion be imported or sold in Denmark without the permission of the King.⁸ A rescript of 1737 gave to the General Church-Inspection-College the censorship of all theological books; another of the following year regulated the censorship of papers.⁹ Further regulation of the newspapers came under Frederik V. In 1756 Chief of Police Torm and Bølle Luxdorph, the Danish Pepys, were appointed censors over Copenhagen papers. According to their instructions nothing was to be printed that was not certain; no foreign intelligence gathered from one source only; nothing except what was honorable was to be reported concerning those Powers friendly to the King—a combination of confession and propaganda that must have been amusing—. Furthermore, private affairs were entirely excluded from discussion.¹⁰ It is obvious that the Copenhagen news sheets of the period would not be highly illuminating.

The hand of the censor did not fall heavily enough or often enough to cause serious agitation, nor was there in Denmark a body of public opinion large enough or enlightened enough or independent enough to protest. To be sure the powerful Erik

⁶ Eggers, C. U. D., ed. *Om Trykkefrihedens Historie i Danmark* . . . : 8 ff.

⁷ West, F. and Norvin, W., *Berlingske Tidene*: 56.

⁸ *Kong Christian Vs Danske Lov*: 367 ff.

⁹ West and Norvin, *op. cit.*: 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid*: 59. See also Holm, *op. cit.*

Pontoppidan, Chancellor of the University, had in 1756 stopped a critical journal that had the temerity to criticise his volume, "Om Verdens Nyhed;"¹¹ Bernstorff had imprisoned a lawyer for sacrilegious blasphemy,¹² and there were other occasional reminders of the watchfulness of the guardians over the peace and morals of the kingdom. Indeed, Struensee himself had felt the weight of the censorship. When in Altona, with his friend Panning he had edited a monthly paper which the government stopped because of alleged blasphemous articles therein. Struensee had attempted to establish another paper, but this too was threatened with censorship, and an appeal to Bernstorff, president of the German Chancery, failed to secure exemption from the customary censorship. As a result the discouraged young doctor gave up his plans for a literary career.¹³

Nevertheless the press was not entirely muzzled in Denmark, and there was a considerable degree of literary discussion of public problems. The Crown itself actually encouraged the discussion of economic and agricultural problems, in 1757 censorship of such material was waived, and at this time and again under Christian VII the government asked for public contributions to the literature on these subjects. Recall, too, that the censorship was not necessarily bigoted and prejudiced, that the majority of books and papers were of such a nature that they would pass the censorship, and we can readily see that except for criticism of the government itself, of foreign affairs, of officials, and of religion—a rather imposing list of exceptions to be sure,—there was relative freedom of the press in eighteenth century Denmark.

When Struensee therefore inaugurated his Cabinet government with the Order that "von nun an Niemand schuldig und verbunden seyn soll, seine Bücher und Schriften, die er dem Druck übergeben will, der bishero verordnet gewesenen Censur und Approbation zu unterwerfen,"¹⁴ the new freedom was not

¹¹ West and Norvin, *op. cit.*: 128.

¹² *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 7 R., v. 5: 119.

¹³ Hille, "Struensees Literarische Tätigkeit," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Laurenbургische Geschichte*, v. 16: 233.

¹⁴ Hansen, *op. cit.*: 46-47.

entirely unanticipated. Certainly it was not inconsistent either with Struensee's own principles or with the main currents of thought in contemporary Europe, but neither was it entirely an innovation in Denmark. No more in respect to this reform than to most of the others did the Struensee régime represent a complete break with the past.

Struensee further elaborated his attitude and furnished explanations for this action in the Rescripts which were sent to the bishops, the rector and professors of the University, the principal of the aristocratic Sorø Academy, and to the religious authorities in Denmark and the German provinces.¹⁵ The Rescript stated that "We are completely of the opinion that it is dangerous both for the impartial investigation of the truth and for the discovery of the mistakes of the past that earnest patriots, . . . be prevented from writing freely and in accordance with their insight and conscience and conviction by Orders or preconceived beliefs . . . , and we have therefore decided, after careful consideration, to allow an unlimited freedom of printing in all of our dominions to the effect that henceforth no one will be compelled to submit his book or writing to censorship."¹⁶

In the course of the same month the King directed a request to the German Chancery, "Je veux savoir si la liberté de la presse est aussi entendue sur les gazettes?"¹⁷ The Chancery advised him that such was not the case, and urged that no such extension of the freedom of the press obtain. The King was unconvinced, however, and replied "Die politischen Nachrichten sollen auch ohne Censur gedruckt werden." and complete liberty obtained throughout Denmark.

The immediate reaction to this really radical experiment was one of general satisfaction.¹⁸ The gesture attracted the attention of Europeans and was hailed with pleasure by the leaders of

¹⁵ Hansen, *ibid.* Eggers, *op. cit.*: 61 ff. Holm, Ed., *Danmark Norges Historie* . . . , v. IV, pt. 1: 285.

¹⁶ Eggers, *op. cit.* Fogtman, L., ed. *Kongelige Rescripter, Resolutioner og Collegialbreve for Danmark og Norge* . . . VI Deel, v. 1.

¹⁷ Hansen, *op. cit.* 1: 288.

¹⁸ Holm, *Trykkefrihedstidens Historie*: 39. Peterson, M. N.: *Bidrag til den danske Litteraturs Historie*, V. 1, afd.: 229.

the Enlightenment. Voltaire, his failing eyes looking anxiously for any hopeful sign of liberalism on the darkling horizon of the ancient regime, greeted it enthusiastically:¹⁹

Monarque vertueux, quoique né despotique,
Crois-tu regner sur moi de ton golfe baltique?
Suis-je un de tes sujets pour me traiter comme eux,
Pour consoler ma vie, et pour me rendre heureux?

Rois, qui brisa les fers dont vous étiez chargés?
Qui put vous affranchir de vos vieux préjugés?
Quelle main favorable à vos grandeurs suprêmes
A du triple bandeau vengé cent diadèmes?
Qui, du fond de son puits tirant la Vérité,
A su donner une âme au public hébété?

The actual products of the Freedom of the Press scarcely warranted such acclaim. It seems indeed that Struensee had been in labour and brought forth a literary mouse. The forty-five volumes of pamphlets from this period in the Luxdorph Collection of the Royal Library are not of a degree of merit to excite our admiration: they consist mainly of cheap broadsides, scurrilous attacks, vulgar poems, smutty scandal.²⁰ To a large extent the products of this period deserve the characterization of Hansen, the literary historian, "A detailed investigation of the literature of the Freedom of the Press under Struensee will bear an unpleasant resemblance to a detailed description of the Augean stables. The few important contributions of respectable authors are drowned in the mass of the futile and nasty."²¹ The stuff consisted increasingly of personal attacks on public men, and especially on Struensee and his relations with Carolina Matilda.²² Struensee had rubbed the Aladdin Lamp of literature, and when the genii dutifully appeared, he failed either to command or to defy him.

It is particularly regrettable that Struensee failed to father and guide this literary foundling, that he failed to grasp the opportunity offered him really to utilize the possibilities of

¹⁹ *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire. t. 17—Épîtres et poésies*: 285, 291.

²⁰ Holm, *op. cit.*: 33-37.

²¹ Hansen, P., *Dansk Literaturhistorie*, v. 2: 332.

²² Holm, *op. cit.*: 37 ff.

the freedom of the press, that he failed to take advantage of the liberal and thoughtful suggestions that were voiced. Had Struensee been less superficial and more profound, less haphazard and more thorough, had he been imbued with the earnest sincerity of the seventeenth rather than the undisciplined brilliance of the eighteenth century, he might have placed himself in sympathy with, and at the head of, a real reform movement with almost national support.

The literature of this period, to a large extent provoked by the promise of freedom, despite its general tone of mediocrity, commands our attention. For the student of the reform movement it is not without considerable interest. It concerned itself with an extraordinarily wide variety of subjects²³ and was bewilderingly suggestive if not exhaustive. Many urgent reforms were discussed: land reform, abolition of service, guilds-free trade, banks, lackeyism, military affairs, the university and education, and especially a Norwegian university, economic conditions in Norway and in Iceland, and innumerable others. Some fundamental and startlingly modern changes in government were advanced²⁴ and many of the reforms of Struensee were anticipated.²⁵ The larger part of the literature was anonymous or pseudonymous,²⁶ but most of the outstanding lit-

²³ See enumeration in Høst, J. K., *Geheimkabinettsminister Grev Johan Friederich Struensee og hans Ministerium* . . . v. 1: 196. The pamphlets themselves are to be found in the Luxdorph Collection.

²⁴ In these years came the first questionings of absolute power, the first admonitions to the king and suggestions of limitation of power. The historian, Suhm, drew up a model constitution which is not without interest. It provided for a House of Parliament with 48 elected members from Denmark, Norway and the Duchies. The franchise was a limited one, but class distinctions were not emphasized. Important problems were to undergo three discussions and votes before enactment. There was to be a Royal Council of eight members, independent of the Parliament or of the Departments of government. See Holm, *op. cit.*: 66 ff.

²⁵ See, for example, the program of reform in Jeppe Vægter's *Betragninger over Staten og den Almindelige Beste*, 1771, in the Luxdorph Collection. It advocated University reform and substitution of Danish for Latin lectures, abolition of guilds, religious toleration, and social reforms.

²⁶ See Petersen, *op. cit.* Most of the authors used Latin pseudonyms; thus Philopatreas, Philodamus, Philokosmos, Philodaneias, Philatelkes, Philopolis, Comphilopatreas, etc.

erary lights responded to the new impetus. We have in this period works from Evald, Suhm, Schøning, Schlegel, Guldberg, Baden, Schumacher, and others.²⁷

But Struensee chose to ignore the good and failed to exorcise the evil, and the latter predominated. It was part of the irony of his régime, as of history, that this most unquestionably wise measure of the reform period should have failed so signally to justify itself either in the eyes of contemporaries or in the grey eyes of history. Verily Struensee would have known the truth, but it did not come to make men free.

The result was the often misinterpreted Cabinet Order of October 3, 1771, the so-called restriction on the Freedom of the Press. Keenly awake to the extent to which liberty had degenerated into license, sensible to the advantage which had been taken of the liberalism of the government, and smarting under personal attacks of the grossest nature, Struensee made the somewhat tardy but entirely legitimate qualification of the unrestricted liberty of the press that "Die Pressfreyheit muss nicht gemisbraucht werden um dadurch andre bürgerliche Gesetze zu übertreten, weswegen alle Injurien, Pasquille und aufrührische Schriften nach wie vor den Bestrafungen unterworfen bleiben," and that no printer might print a book whose author was unknown nor any book be printed without the name of the author and the printer.²⁸

Further to encourage free expression of opinion and discussion of public affairs, Struensee abolished all limitations on the importation of books and provided that all printed material could be imported duty-free.²⁹

The freedom of the press was a weapon forged to the hands of Struensee's enemies. The spirit which he had called into being turned upon him with peculiar viciousness, and the literary muses that he had encouraged became, on his downfall, avenging furies. The Palace Revolution of January 17, 1772 was hailed

²⁷ Petersen, 229 ff.; Høst, *op. cit.* I: 196; Holm, *op. cit.*: 37 ff.

²⁸ Hansen, H. *Kabinettsstyrelsen* . . . I: 176. Rescript of Oct. 7 can be found in Fogtman, *op. cit.* VI. v. 1: 328, Eggers, *op. cit.* 74-75, and Høst, *op. cit.* III: 45 ff.

²⁹ Hansen, *op. cit.* v. 2: 84. Eggers, 21.

with universal joy; Struensee was denounced as the Anti-Christ and all alike hastened to renounce him and all his ways and all his means.³⁰ All this could not have been other than satisfactory to the new administration, and for a time no action was taken looking toward the re-imposition of censorship. In due time, however, the Guldberg regime took cognizance of this scandalous situation, and a Rescript of October 20, 1773, forbade the publication of anything concerning the government or political questions, any criticism of public persons, and any scandal, and a later Order of November extended considerably the application of this Rescript.³¹ The ill-omened experiment in freedom of the press had definitely come to an end; its history was not such as to encourage a repetition of the experiment for some time.

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³⁰ A collection of local verse commemorating the Palace Revolution contains contributions from every town of importance in the Kingdom—in all over seventy towns. See *Vedvarende Vidnesbyrd om Nordens Glæde over den 17de Januar, 1772*. K. 1772.

³¹ West and Norvin, *op. cit.*: 60-61; Holm: 8.

THE SUFFIX -ERNI IN OLD NORSE

In ON we find a suffix *-erni* which apparently has no counterpart in the other Germanic languages. This suffix, except in a few cases, regularly lends to the substantive (or adjective) to which it is attached an abstract notion; e.g., *fað-erni* "fatherhood," *móð-erni* "motherhood," *bróð-erni* "brotherhood," *lund-erni* "temperament," *líf-erni* "conduct of life," *ætt-erni* "kinship," but (with concrete sense)¹ *stíð-erni* "a kind of garment," *sal-erni* "privy, closet."

So far as the phonology of the suffix *-erni* is concerned, it is, I think, safe to assume that the vowel *e* here represents an earlier **a* (i.e., *-erni* < **-arni*), inasmuch as the syllable *-er-* in all these trisyllabic compounds regularly bears a strong secondary stress;² hence the *i*-umlaut probably took place here just as in a syllable with primary stress,³ i.e., *fáð-èr-ni* < **fáð-àr-ni*.

But we have no PG suffix **-arn-* or **-asn* > ON *-arn*⁴ denoting an abstract idea and therefore we must look for the solution of our problem in secondary ON conditions.

If we view the original suffix in question not as **-arni* but simply as the primary suffix *-n*⁵ (+*i*) denoting an abstract idea, we have, I believe, the solution as to the origin of our suffix *-erni*. This suffix had its inception in the type *faðer-*, *móðer-*,

¹ Cf. likewise *fað-erni* "paternal inheritance," *Sg. en skamma*, 69, 3.

² Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*, §51, 2b; Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §45.

³ Cf. Noreen, §64; Heusler, §57, Anm. 3. This strong secondary accent on the syllable *-er-* probably explains why the *-er-* in *fáð-èr-ni* was not further reduced to *-ir-* as in the independent word *fað-er* > *fað-ir* where the syllable *-er* was relatively without accent (cf. Noreen, §51, 3).

⁴ PG. **-asn-: *-asn-* cannot be identified with ON *-ern-* [i], first because this suffix always appears in conjunction with the fem. *ð*-stems (**-asn-ð-: *-asn-ð-*) and secondly because this suffix never lends an abstract idea to the substantive to which it is attached; cf., e.g., Goth. *hlaiw* "grave": *hlaiw-asnós* "graves, tombs," Goth. *arkw-asna*: OE *earh* "arrow," etc. See Kluge, *Nominals Stammbildungslehre* §86; Grimm, *DG* II, 345.

⁵ Cf. the Goth. verbal abstracts in *-ein-: -ain-: -ón-*. In ON the suffix *-n* denoting abstract substantives was especially productive; cf. *lík-n*, *sqg-n*, *fjó-n*, *þjá-n*, etc. See Wessén, *Zur Geschichte der n-Deklination*, pp. 160 ff. where the literature on this subject is given.

bróðer-ni in which the suffix *-er* of the consonantal substantive was later on felt as an integral part of the original suffix *-ni* (i.e., *fader-ni* > *fad-erni*) resulting in a secondary suffix *-erni*, which was then by analogy transferred⁶ to other substantives (or adjectives) whose stem did not end in the syllable *-er*; cf., e.g., *ætt-erni* (subst. *ætt*), *stæð-erni* (adj. *sið-r*).

That the original suffix was simply *-n(+i)* and not **-arni* is supported by the fact that the assumption of an original suffix **-arni* presupposes a stem of the type *fad-*, *móð-*, *bróð-* [**-arni* > *-erni*] without the substantive suffix (**-ar* > *-er*), but there is no trace of such a suffixless stem⁷ of this type in ON.

A parallel formation to ON *fader-ni* is Goth. *fadr-eins* (πατριά) "family, race": *fadr-ein* (πατριά, plur. γονεῖς) "race, parents, forefathers." Indeed, it is possible by virtue of the law of vowel syncope⁸ in unstressed syllables that the *-n-* in ON *fader-n-i* represents an original **in-* (= Goth. *-ein-*); i.e., *fádèrni* < **fádàrni* < **fádàrtinì*.⁹ Be this as it may, the Goth. forms *fadr-ein(s)* offer us a valid starting point for determining the inception of the secondary ON suffix *-erni*.

If ON *fader-ni* and Goth. *fadr-ein(-s)* are parallel formations so far as the suffix **-(t)n* is concerned, the difference between the form of the substantive suffix ON *-er* and Goth.

⁶ For this type of secondary suffix growing out of the end syllable of the substantive plus the original suffix compare NHG *Bettl-er*: *Künst-ler*; *Gärt-er*: *Kell-ner*; *silber-n*, *gläser-n*: *stein-ern*, *bein-ern*.

In the type *silber-n*: *stein-ern* the original suffix was simply *-n* (< **in*), which combined with the final syllable *-er-* of the substantive offers an exact parallel to ON *-er-n-* in *fader-ni*: *lund-erni*.

⁷ In ON a secondary loss of the suffix *-r* sometimes occurred, e.g., in the types *fed-gar* (< **fedr-gar*) "father and son," *fed-gin* (< **fedr-gin*) "father or mother, parent" where the *-r* of the plural stem disappeared between two consonants (see Noreen,⁴ §291, 10).

In WG, on the other hand, a suffixless form of the consonantal stem in question appears in **fad-ôn* > OE *fad-u*: OFris. *feth-e*: MLG *vad-e* "father's sister, aunt." See Fick, *Vgl. Wtb. der indogerm. Sprachen*,⁴ 227, under *fader*; Kluge, *op. cit.*, §1.

⁸ Cf. Noreen,⁴ §157; Heusler,³ §§110, b.111, b.

⁹ With *fádàrtinì* > **fádèrni* compare Goth. *mikilaisē* > PN **mikilēd* > **mikilro* > ON *mikilla* > *mikēlla*. Cf. OSwed. *fäpr-än-e*, *möpr-än-e* which contain the suffix **-in-*; see Kock, *Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen*, 111.

-r may be explained as due to the ablaut variation such as occurs in the inflection of this type of substantive.

The suffix -r in Goth. *fað-r*-[*ein(s)*] represents the null grade of the suffix vowel, such as occurs in the dat. sing. form *brôþ-r*: ON *fað-r*; cf. Grk. *πατ-ρ*.

The suffix -er in ON *fað-er*-[*ni*] < **fað-ar*-[*ni*] represents the low grade vowel *a* < PG *ǣ*, such as occurs in the acc. sing. form; cf. Grk. *πατ-ερ-a* > PG **fað-er-um* > PN **fað-ar-u*¹⁰ > ON *fað-ur*.

In the independent word ON *fað-er*: *fað-ir* nom. sing. the vowel *e:i* of the suffix represents the high grade vowel PG *ê*; cf. Grk. *πατ-ήρ* > PG **fað-êr* > PN **fað-ær*¹¹ > ON *fað-er*¹² > *fað-ir*.

Since the original force of the secondary suffix -*erni* was abstract,¹³ compounds in -*erni* denoting purely concrete ideas (e.g., *stê-erni* "a kind of garment") must have been of later origin than secondary compounds denoting purely abstract ideas (e.g., *att-erni* "relationship," *lund-erni* "temperament," *lif-erni* "conduct of life").

From the original, purely abstract idea of relationship was developed the concrete idea of "pertaining to, having to do with"; cf. *fað-erni* "fatherhood" > "father's side of the family"¹⁴ (cf. Goth. *faðr-ein(s)* "race, family") > "that which has to do with father" = "paternal inheritance" (cf. *Sg. en skamma*, 69,3).

Similarly, the word *stê-erni* (recorded by Cleasby-Vigfússon as meaning "a kind of garment") could mean "something which was long or hanging down" (from the adj. *stê-r* "long, hanging down"), which idea was often present in articles of

¹⁰ Cf. Heusler,² §113,1.

¹¹ In the runic inscriptions *æ* is denoted by the *a*-rune, transcribed as *ð*; cf. *swest-ðr*, *Opedal*.

¹² Cf. Noreen,⁴ §138; Heusler,² §§102,5.106.237.

¹³ It will be noted that this abstract idea denoted by the suffix -*n* is reinforced by the neuter *ja*-declension which likewise often had an abstract force; cf. *frélsi* "liberty," *kynni* (=Goth. *kunþi*) "knowledge," and abstract compounds in -*leysi*. See Kluge, *op. cit.*, §111.

¹⁴ Cf. the phrase "at danska ætt áttu at *faðerni* eða *móðerni*." "They were Danish either on their father's or their mother's side." Cf. *fað-erni* in this sense with *att-erni* "kinship."

clothing; cf. *stíðar brynjur*, *stíðr hqtr*, *hjólmr*, etc.). Hence the compound *stíð-erni* probably denoted some kind of "long, flowing garment."

I have elsewhere¹⁵ tried to show that the element *-erni* in the compound *sal-erni* "privy, closet," is derived from an originally independent substantive **-arini* "an elevated structure" and should, therefore, be separated from the suffix *-erni* in question. I have no reason now for changing my opinion. In view of the arguments advanced in my former paper it is most reasonable to assume that the element *-erni* in *sal-erni* fell together with the suffix *-erni* in question, and that too not only phonetically but also semantically, for in view of the frequent occurrence of this suffix the idea of "an elevated structure in common use for the homestead" = "privy, closet" could easily have merged with, or have been lost in favor of, the idea "that which has to do with the homestead" = "privy, closet."

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¹⁵ See "Old Icelandic Notes," *Germ. Review*, II, 74.

REVIEWS

STRINDBERG'S CONCEPTION OF HISTORY, by Harry V. E. Palmblad, Ph. D.
New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, 196 pp.

This doctoral thesis by Professor Palmblad of Phillips University is a good piece of work, and is a distinct contribution to the usefulness of the Columbia Germanic Studies. The author has for many years been a Strindberg enthusiast and has studied the latter's writings diligently with special emphasis upon his historical works. As a result Dr. Palmblad has brought forth a well-digested scholarly product. It is clear and concise—two indispensable qualities of scholarship virtue—and under the acknowledged direction, implying sane and cautious coaching, of the Germanic Department, the author has succeeded in wading through a mass of theories, influences and contradictions and still keep his feet on the ground. This fact together with the introduction of painstaking conclusions at the ends of many of the chapters makes the work a convenient labor-saving digest for those who have neither time nor inclination to read sixty volumes of Strindberg. And the dissertation gives us a good idea of Strindberg as a whole. Mr. Palmblad's examination of historical conceptions presents, also, through intimate and natural associations a clearer idea of the development of the Swedish dramatist's thinking along scientific, religious, and philosophic lines than we have had previously. At least, this represents the reviewer's reaction after a careful reading of the thesis. It is illuminating; in a sense, stimulating; and to those who have been unable to follow Strindberg's mysterious excursions into his various realms, or to comprehend his changes and real or apparent inconsistencies, it conveys an element of encouragement. Those who have despaired of ever understanding Strindberg and have in consequence come to despair of their own intellect may see a ray of hope for themselves in the pages of this investigation. It is provided with a bibliography, of course, though not with a very extensive one. Misprints are few.

Strindberg's Conception of History is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the author's general theories in that field, and the second with more practical illustrations of those theories in original dramatic productions. The main sources have in either case been Strindberg's own works. We observe that he was always a thinker, but not at all times a deep or a clear one. But he is ever an honest searcher for truth, though as he progresses he vacillates, stumbles, curses, contradicts himself, and, like other mortals, makes mistakes. At first, under the influence of Buckle, then Darwin and Spencer, he becomes a materialist, atheist, naturalist, and, in some degree, an evolutionist; he studies Hartmann and Schopenhauer and turns pessimist. But in the nineties a change appears. He begins to see the One-ness in historical facts and movements, a purpose, a Conscious Will. So two chapters of the thesis deal with "Strindberg's Historical Monism" and "A Conscious Will in History." By the year 1896 Strindberg has been converted into a creedless Swedenborgian Christian. He

has come to believe in a personal god, and remains a mystic to his death. Interesting is his exposition of the interdependence of countries, races and cultures, and of the idea of disintegration and integration in history. Both are necessary parts of one divine scheme. Separation leads ultimately to unification. "In general the evolutionary conception persists." Then we have the relativity of truth strongly emphasized as well as the idea of the constant recurrence of historical events. The latter he demonstrates by a system of parallelism.

The reviewer failed to find in Dr. Palmblad's thesis any definite references to *Lycksalighetens ö*, which contains so much of Strindberg's attitude toward social and political developments and toward the history of civilization in general. Perhaps I missed it, and maybe I searched unwisely in the first place—the reviewer is no authority on Strindberg—but the work just mentioned is a fascinating though scathing satire on the history of world progress—if we may call it such—and records through narrative and ridicule Strindberg's erstwhile (should we say permanent?) antagonism toward governments, creed religions, "whipping institutions," as he called our schools, militarism, royal academies, and, incidentally,—doctors' dissertations. Facts of history, according to *Lycksalighetens ö*, are, on the other hand, the natural consequences of climate, the necessity for labor, love of control—circumstances. Marriage is an economic question. Food is the key to all struggles. Competition breeds trouble, inequality, injustice. Remove the desperate scramble for subsistence—work—and the result is paradise (*lycksalighet*), an illogical conclusion made in bitterness. The children of royal houses have to be fed, at public expense, says Strindberg, no matter whether they be idle or not, legitimate or illegitimate. Read about the the royal bastard who, after having made a wonderful classification of buttons and studied abroad, becomes a "professor of buttonology!" This, also, is a conception of history.

We may bring this review to a close by quoting a paragraph from Dr. Palmblad's final conclusion.

"Strindberg's later historical ideas, while apparently showing an entire change of front, are, in many cases, the natural outgrowth of the older ones. The development of the monistic conception from a few scattered principles in the earlier period to a well defined system in the later, has already been discussed. The determinism of the earlier theory, which considered man the product of circumstances, without free will, has its counterpart in the later theory which makes him the unconscious performer of tasks outlined by a Providence standing outside and above him. In each case a certain importance is granted to the individual: in the earlier conception, the single being is admitted to have some historic significance; in the later, the author sees in the progress of world history, in addition to the restraint and compulsion exercised by the Great Leader, a certain amount of room for the play of the human will. In each case, the greater part, at least, of the responsibility is shifted from the shoulders of the individual; in one case, to a kind of impersonal and inevitable necessity; in the other to God. Buckle's theory that man is subject to the same laws as other organic beings, placed history in the domain of natural law. This tendency

is more fully developed in Strindberg's later attempts to parallel certain processes in history with processes in the natural sciences. The emphasis on the race rather than on the individual, found in the earlier period, runs through the second also. It is true, the individual often appears here as an important agent, nevertheless the large purposes of history are interpreted in terms of race or of humanity at large. In fact, the chief purpose of historical development is unity. The Darwinian idea of continued development, tho no longer set forth as a doctrine, constitutes a basic conception of the later period. Emphasis on negation is seen throughout the two periods. In the earlier, stress is laid on Buckle's theory that doubt is the beginning of wisdom, and on Spencer's theory that all reformatory activity should proceed negatively. In the later period, there is stress on disintegration and an insistence on its usefulness as a process in historical development."

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HUGUR OG TUNGA by Alexander Jóhannesson. Reykjavík. Bókaverzlun Þorsteins Gíslasonar 1926.

This book deals with certain aspects of the Icelandic language, viz., onomatopoeia, transformation of words (popular etymology) and interjections. In the foreword the author says: "Í riti þessu hefi eg rannsakað tvö efni íslenzkrar málvísu, er málfræðingar hingað til hafa að litlu eða að engu sint: hljóðgervinga og ummyndun orða eða alþýduskýringar (Folkeetymologi á dönsku, þýsku Volksetymologie). Hljóðgervinga nefni eg eftirhermur náttúruhljóða, orð þau, er lýsa sjálf athöfnum og vidburðum (Lautmalerei á þýsku) og kendarord eða upphrópunarord, er falla manni ósjálfrátt af vörum, er einhver gedshræring gerir vart við sig."

This subject, he continues, has not heretofore been investigated in Icelandic and but little in other languages. Eleven of the most outstanding works on the subject (English, Danish, French, German) constitute the bibliography. Other references will be found throughout the work in connection with the author's numerous quotations, mostly from Icelandic writers.

The work discusses some 700 words and phrases at greater or less length. *Chapter I* deals with phonetic laws and the vocabulary of the language, including borrowings from the various sources. The author estimates the entire stock at about 200,000 words, of which total 150,000 are probably recorded in *Sigfús Blöndal's Íslandsk-Dansk Ordbog*. A comparison of the old and modern vocabularies shows a tremendous increase in the word stock of the language. The growth continues steadily. But this does not mean indiscriminate borrowing. The Icelandic language, compared with the speech of other nations, is remarkably free from contamination, even if it must be admitted that the language has not been able to live and to grow without influence from without.

The introduction of Christianity and the later commercial relations with the Continent resulted in considerable borrowing of foreign terms. By 1400, from 1400 to 1500 words had been incorporated in the language. The foreign element in Old Icelandic the author estimates approximately as follows:

Celtic	30 words
Ang.-Sax.	50 "
Low Germ.	200 "
Slavic	20 "
Engl.-Lat.	100 "
Low Germ.-Lat.	140 "
Medieval Lat.	170 "
Romance	200 "

The origin of about 6000 words and stems are known, and these words are found in other Germanic languages. But many thousands are not known, and the difficulty increases when their roots are not to be traced to Germanic tongues, but rather to Slavic, Celtic, Persian and other languages of remoter relationship.

As an example of the manner in which the author follows up Icelandic words of obscure origin, let us take the word *bátur*. In *HH I* there occurs the word *beit*. The PG form of this word must have been **baila*. On account of the form *beit*, it has been thought that *bátur* is a borrowing from AS (*bát*): others have maintained that it has come from the Frisian, and others again have endeavored to connect the word with the root of Lat. *fodio*; cf. Lith. *badaũ* and *ბბოპო*, wherefore the PG form must have been *bēla*-. Icel. *bátur* phonologically correct, and AS *bát* a Norrön borrowing. Cf. Jak. Sverdrup, *Maal og Minne*, 1922, 49-59.

It is more likely, the author thinks, that *bátur* is the same word as *beit*. The case is analogous to such changes as are indicated on page 11 ff., and which are due to lack of stress.

Chapter II deals briefly with the striking phonetic law illustrated in the behavior of *e-o* in the Idg. parent speech, best seen in Greek. Words of the same stem, and all strong verbs in Icel. and other Germ. languages are to be traced to changes of the *e*- and *o*-sounds; cf. *binda-batt*: **bhendh*-**bhondh*; *bjóða-bauð* and *stíga-steig* which illustrate the same law, only that *e* developed into *ei*- (*σείχω*: *stíga*) or *eu*- (*πείθω*; *bjóða*); *o*- added *i* or *u*- (*o+i>ai>ei* in *steig*; *o+u>au* in *bauð*).

The stress in the prim. parent language being movable, enables us to interpret other phonetic phenomena, e.g., in the past participle of strong verbs (*bodinn*, *stíginn*) and related word forms of the same root as well as in prefixes and inflectional endings.

Having alluded to the theories of linguists and others (Herder) that language originated in onomatopoeia, he arrives at the subject of sound imitation. These and exclamatory words are present in all languages and are best seen in the primitive state of linguistic development. Here the sounds of birds, beasts, insects, man and inanimate nature are treated in the light of comparison within and outside of the field of Germanics. It is a good presentation of a fascinating subject matter and doubly enjoyable because of the author's style.

Under the heading *Ummyndun orða*, the author discusses the rendering in Icel. of foreign names of localities, countries, rivers, cities, habitations.

Among the many examples offered, the following incident taken from the *Orkneyjarðáttir* ("Ólof Saint's saga," *Flateyjarbók*) is typical. One summer Röngvaldr jarl, Sigmundur öngull and their men fared from Palestine to Constantinople, arriving in the autumn at a place called Imbolum. One night when they returned from a visit up town, Erlingr skakki, very much intoxicated, met some townspeople on the wharf, or ship's gang-board, whereupon they cried out to him: "Midhæfi!"

It is thought that this word *midhæfi* is the O. Icel. barbarized form of the Greek *μετάβηθι* "step to one side" ("gangway!"). The term was unknown to the Icclander who recorded the incident, and he spelled the word as it sounded to his ear.

This distorting of words continues. We are reminded by the author that Icclanders, residing in Copenhagen, still practise this art; *Yorck's Passage* becomes *Jórukleif*, *Café Première* (*Premiér?*), *Prammann*, etc.

In this chapter the author also points out many amusing interpretations by Sophus Bugge of the origin of the names of deities and heroes in the Edda and elsewhere; cf. especially p. 66 *Protheus*: *Rotheus*: *Hrossþjófr*.

As many geographical names occurring in old Nordic writings often prove difficult to identify, the chapter dealing with them should prove interesting and valuable to all concerned. Attention is also paid to names of the parts of the body, food, clothing, weapons, implements and utensils.

Many of the etymologies found in the work are naturally not final as the author's numerous "perhaps" clearly indicate. But that he bases his assertions on sane philological premises, most will admit. The author also discusses nautical terms, diseases, flowers and herbs and many other terms taken from the natural kingdom, as well as many miscellaneous matters, all of which attest to the practical as well as the theoretical value of his work.

It is to be hoped that *Hugur og Tunga* is but the beginning of further efforts by the author along lines where relatively speaking little has so far been accomplished. The Icelandic language, Old and Modern, is in urgent need of a systematically planned etymological work, and it is but natural that we should expect the work from the hand of native Icelandic scholars who, all other things being equal, are best fitted to do the work as it ought to be done.

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WHERE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY BEGAN, by Colonel Henry D. Paxson. 248 pages and about 100 illustrations. George H. Buchanan Co. Philadelphia, Pa.

The purpose of this work is to emphasize local history prior to Penn (1682), a period usually ignored by text books of history. In form it is a guide book through the territory once held by the early Swedish settlers on the Delaware within Pennsylvania. The route begins at City Hall and runs through Wicaco past Gloria Dei (Old Swedes' Church), continues along Delaware and Moyensing Avenues and Penrose Ferry Road across the Schuylkill River past Fort Nya Korsholm (1647-1653) and Tinicum Island Road to Tinicum Island

(now Essington), the site of Fort Nya Göteborg, Tinicum Church and Printz Hall, the seat of the Government.

In the vicinity is the birth place of John Morton. The journey continues along Chester and Darby turnpikes and Cobbs Creek where Printz built the old mill (1646) and called the place Mölndal. Here a replica of the mill was erected in 1925, thanks to the efforts of Colonel Paxson and the Swedish Colonial Society. Not far from this point was the Court of Upland (1680) and farther east still stands the old church (St. James), built 1760. From the Cobbs Creek mill by way of the Great Minquas Trail and the Jonas Nilsson Trading Post, the journey ends at City Hall. The distance covered is 37.8 miles.

The work has been published in commemoration of the visit in 1926 by their Royal Highnesses Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf and Crown Princess Louise.

It is a most valuable little work and should be in the hands of all who are interested in American history. The significance of Colonel Paxton's book lies in the fact that a few sturdy Swedes set up and maintained for years the first legal government within the boundaries of the present State of Pennsylvania.

The price of the book is five dollars and it may be obtained from the publishers as pr. above.

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